

UNIV. OF
TORONTO
LIBRARY



THE
A. H. U. COLQUHOUN
LIBRARY
OF CANADIAN HISTORY

Proceedings
(ADDRESSES)

DELIVERED, BEFORE

The Canadian Club
of Toronto

SEASON 1904-05

Edited by the Literary Correspondent



314403-4
5 . 4 . 35

TORONTO:
WARWICK BRO'S & RUTTER, LIMITED



F

5547

T6C33

1904/05-

1905/06

The Canadian Club

TORONTO

(*Founded 1897*)

Officers and Executive Committee

Season 1904-05

President

G. A. HOWELL

Vice-Presidents

1st, MARK H. IRISH

2nd, C. W. I. WOODLAND

Secretary

A. E. HUESTIS

Literary Correspondent

J. R. BONE

Treasurer

G. HERBERT WOOD

Committee

REV. CANON CODY

A. L. CROSSIN

DR. HAROLD CLARK

H. VAN DER LINDE

S. B. GUNDY

JOHN TURNBULL

JOS. A. THOMPSON

W. R. P. PARKER (Ex. Officio)



PROGRAMME OF LUNCHEONS.

DATE. 1904.	SPEAKER.	ATTEND- ANCE.	PAGE.
May 19.	Special Meeting—HON. A. B. MORINE on "Newfoundland" ...	260	7
Sep. 12.	Special Meeting—HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY...	550	9
Oct. 3.	(Evening)—RT. HON. JAMES BRYCE, M.P.	414	15
" 10.	BRIGADIER ARCHIBALD on "Prison Work"	105	25
" 17.	W. D. LIDTHALL on "Municipal Government"	105	31
" 24.	General Discussion, "Naval Defence"	66	38
" 31.	RT. HON. JOHN MORLEY, M.P.	550	40
Nov. 7.	D. M. STEWART on "Banking in Canada"	110	45
" 14.	PROF. ADAM SHORTT of Queen's University, "Party System" ..	115	50
" 21.	DR. W. H. DRUMMOND on "Politics in Ontario"	325	51
" 28.	CAPT. A. T. HUNTER on "Higher Hayforkism"	200	55
Dec. 12.	A. H. U. COLQUHOUN on "Anglo-American Diplomacy"	150	59
" 29.	Special Meeting—PROF. WM. OSLER, F.R.S., on "Anglo-Can- 1905. dian and American Relations	365	62
Jan. 9.	PRIN. D. M. GORDON, of Queen's University, on "Political Purity"	200	67
" 13.	Special Meeting—FORBES ROBERTSON on "Art"	400	72
Feb. 6.	(Evening)—COM'R A. P. LOW on "Hudson Bay Expedition" ..	200	76
" 13.	PROF. W. S. MILNER, of Toronto University, on "English Civil Service"	125	78
" 20.	HON. T. NOSSE on "Trade with Far East"	275	91
" 27.	J. S. WILLISON on "North West Autonomy, etc."	330	97
Mar. 6.	PROF. CHAS. W. COLBY, of McGill, on "Patriotism and History" ..	175	107
" 13.	PAUL G. MARTINEAU, K.C., on "The Case for Separate Schools" ..	225	116
" 20.	PROF. WALTER A. WYCKOFF, of Princeton, on "Industrialism" ..	375	127
" 27.	FRANK PEDLEY on "Indians of Canada"	125	133
Apr. 3.	HON. CLIFFORD SIFTON, M.P on "What Canada Should Accom- plish, etc.	375	139
" 10.	"RALPH CONNOR" on "Future of Canada"	325	146
" 12.	Special Meeting—H. RIDER HAGGARD and COMM'R BOOTH-TUCKER ..	375	152
" 13.	REV. C. W. GORDON, Letter		154
" 17.	DR. WILFRED GRENFELL on "Work Among Labrador Fishermen" ..	250	156
" 27.	Annual Meeting		162

THE CANADIAN CLUB

OF TORONTO

(May 19, 1904.)

Confederation of Newfoundland

HON. A. B. MORINE.

In clear and convincing language Hon. A. B. Morine, leader of the Opposition in the Newfoundland Legislative Assembly, explained to the Canadian Club yesterday the situation in the island in regard to confederation. It was a special luncheon of the club, and Mr. Morine was given a very warm reception by the unusually large number of members present. President Howell occupied the chair for the first time since his election to that office, and on his left sat his Honor Lieut.-Governor Clark.

Mr. Morine, who spoke for a little over half an hour, touched briefly upon almost every phase of the confederation question. He showed the mutual advantages that would result from union, explained the attitude of the people of the colony towards confederation, argued that a campaign of education was necessary in order to overcome the prejudice against confederation among the great majority in the island, and emphasized the point made in his recent interview with The Globe's staff correspondent, that until a definite offer with terms was made by Canada the advocates of confederation in the colony could do little towards convincing the electors of the desirability of union.

At the outset he wished it definitely to be understood that he had no mandate either from the people or any political party in Newfoundland to express any opinions whatever. There were no party lines in the colony upon the question of confederation and he was pleased to have received the assurance of the leaders of both parties in Ottawa that there was no party, sectional or sectarian feeling against union in Canada, but that there was a universal feeling in favor of the inclusion of Newfoundland with the Dominion. (Applause.) In the island it would be quite impossible to tell upon which side the political leaders would be found in case terms were proposed to the colony and the question made a practical issue. The formation of a confederate party in Newfoundland depended entirely upon the initiative being taken by Canada. The uncertainty as to what terms Canada would give Newfoundland lay at the bottom of political indecision in the island, and made it impossible to have a strong political party in that country working for union.

In dealing with the benefits that would accrue to Newfoundland, Mr. Morine referred to the "very excellent series of reports which had been given by The Globe of interviews in the island," and especially to the figures quoted by Hon. E. M. Jackman in regard to Canadian trade with Newfoundland. He was inclined to think that the statistics were not quite correct, and that trade with Canada was not decreasing to any very large extent. Under confederation, however, the Canadian trade might be very greatly increased, almost entirely displacing that with the United States.

The geographical position of Newfoundland at the entrance of the St. Lawrence was urged strongly by Mr. Morine as one of the reasons why Canada should take steps to bring the island into the Dominion. A foreign power controlling Newfoundland would control the trade of the St. Lawrence. There was no more loyal people on this side of the Atlantic than the Newfoundlanders, yet, should its trade relations with the United States become intimate, its sentiment might in time become American. He did not mention this as probable, but as possible, and as a possibility which statesmen should guard against by every means in their power. (Applause.)

The minds of the people of Newfoundland, Mr. Morine was inclined to think, were open to consider reasonable and proper terms. If the Government of the colony refused to accept a Canadian suggestion to negotiate, what was to prevent the Dominion from consulting with the leading men of the island, from them obtain an idea of what terms would be considered acceptable, and then offering these terms definitely to the island? Then the Newfoundland advocates of confederation could go to the country and conduct that campaign of education which was so necessary to overcome the prejudice against union existing at the present time. (Applause.) He was not prepared to say off hand what terms he would be willing to accept, but he was certain from considerable study of the subject that adequate terms were reasonably within the reach of the Governments if once negotiations were taken up in earnest.

"If the Dominion Government takes action in the right way," concluded Mr. Morine, "and if the intelligence and the British spirit of the people of Newfoundland is appealed to and the terms are fair, I believe that, although the struggle may be a hard one and may be prolonged, the day is not far distant, humanly speaking, when the colony of Newfoundland may be a part of this grand Dominion." (Applause.)

(September 5, 1904).

Address

BY HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : It is with no ordinary feelings of diffidence that I rise to thank you for the reception you have just accorded to me, and for the kindly introduction of me which has been given from the chair. Since I set foot on Canadian soil some eight days ago it has fallen to me not infrequently, to say the least, to have the privilege of returning thanks for the kindly welcome I have received, and my endeavor has been rather to solve the problem of perpetual motion than to get the opportunities I should desire of quietly and deliberately thinking over what I have seen, and thanking adequately those who have shown it all to me. And if I have been diffident before I can honestly and quite straightforwardly say that I feel that diffidence more at this moment than on any other occasion, because I recognize to the full the importance of the gathering to whom I am now allowed to speak. It is important not so much for to-day or for to-morrow as for the years to come. The reception which you have given me I think I rightly understand. I know, of course, I am not so stupid as to suppose that it is in any narrow sense of the word a personal thing. I know, of course, that it is not connected with any denominational considerations, and I know what you are thinking of is, as your chairman so admirably put it, to give the kindest welcome which you can to one who is necessarily from his position a somewhat important citizen of the empire, who has large responsibilities connected with our common life, and who certainly desires,—here I can speak at least from my heart,—to do what in him lies to make that common life either in the new country or in the old a worthy and an ever worthier thing. (Applause.)

I must honestly confess my experience in this eventful week leaves me a little dazed, my thoughts are somewhat tangled just at present, and I want time to comb them out. They will be combed out. I am looking this very week now beginning for a little quieter time for that most necessary process, and then I honestly hope that what I have learned, in these to me incomparable days of new experience, may by the grace of God in some way or other become fruitful of good both here and elsewhere in the days to come. To me the occasion is simply brimming over with interest, and if what I have to say seems to you as it well may—I am speaking quite honestly—inadequate to such an occasion, if I seem to have failed to strike some new or large thought, it is simply because again and again there comes up to me the recurrent strain of the old

thought by which everyone must be inspired from the first moment he sets foot in this great Dominion, of the things that are yet to be, the coming things of the future, whereof we are seeing the early days, and of which you to whom I am speaking will in the large preponderance of cases see a great deal more than we older men shall ever see. I cannot pretend, I do not know whether any who are around me at these tables would try the task of defining the audience to whom I am allowed to speak just now, my generous hosts of to-day, but there are certain elements in the composition of this great gathering which are apparent, and which require no definition. In the first place most of you are young, most or all of you are keen,—or, rather, I imagine there are few, probably, if any, in this room who are not eager in their loyalty to the great empire of which we are members. (Applause.) You to whom I am speaking are for the most part young, so is the twentieth century, and I honestly believe for my part that the twentieth century will be in all that is and all that goes to make life worthiest the greatest century that the world has yet seen. I am one of those who have always been able conscientiously and straightforwardly to take a bright and hopeful view of the coming days.

Is there any other page of the world's story, any other portion of the world's surface, which we would rather have lived in or be living in now than the age in which God is trusting us with the years we have to spend or the land in which we are privileged to dwell? If, as I unhesitatingly believe, we are given in trust to fight in the foremost fields of time, I do also believe that the men in England and in the colonies are trying to rise to those opportunities, and by the grace of God to use them to the full. I envy you as young men for the chance you have, the opportunity that may be yours of living on into the time, say, twenty or thirty years hence when you will be at your best, and we shall be gone, and when the opportunities which we have thought large and manifest will be dwarfed alike in importance and variety by the opportunities which I honestly believe will then be yours. (Applause.) By the time you are a little balder, a little stouter, a little shorter in the wind than you find yourselves to-day, I believe you will have had in your hands large opportunities for the setting forward of the well being of the world which we are trying to use to the best of our power, and often and often have failed, but which men are learning to use better as the opportunities multiply day by day. Surely it is true that men nowadays are speaking largely about us, of our imperial responsibilities and of our local responsibilities alike, and see that we are keen to use them for the best for the sake of all. If that is to be done, in my belief one of the principles which must be held fast by those whose busiest and most important hours still lie ahead is to prepare for it, not—it may seem a strange expression, perhaps,—not too “definitely,” not in too utilitarian a way, not thinking simply, “what I must do that will in the largest sense pay,” but, “what I must

do to become as fit a man all round for whatever responsibilities may come to me, as I can by God's help make myself now."

When I was a very little boy I was taught, I cannot think why, English grammar from a very old book. I can see it now before me. It was a good grammar, I am sure. It had a title page and opposite the title page a picture representing a boy upon a white pony, and beneath it were two lines which I have never forgotten. They were these: "Let syntax be your constant guide; So shall you on a pony ride." (Laughter.) I do not know the author of the lines. (Laughter.) It was not, I believe, Milton or Shakespeare or any of our greatest men. (Laughter.) But I used to think until a few years ago whenever I recalled those lines that they were not very full of meaning, that the connection between the future horsemanship and the useful syntax was not very clear or keen. I have come to think that I was mistaken, because I see now that he who is to study and master that immortal work will be especially fitted for even such far 'off responsibilities, between which there is as much difference as there is between the art of syntax and that of horsemanship. And it seems to me to be a not unworthy thought that we are trying to bear in mind, that whatever may be set us to do, if we make the very best use of it for the making of ourselves as fit all round as we can be, that is probably in the highest and best way the fulfilment of what is then the obligation immediately before us. Now, you are, I believe, here in the Dominion if anywhere, going to succeed and go forward in laying largely and widely,—it must be widely—whether you will or not,—widely and wisely the lines on which is to be built up the nationality, the huge nationality that is bound before many generations have passed to come. Of course there will be obstacles in the way; of course there will be hampering things in a new land from its very newness, as there are in an old land from its oldness, but they are there to be overcome. The difficulties are there. They have got to be met. They can be met. Please God they will be met. An old philosopher, Pliny, centuries ago saw this, as we can see from his description of what a man was. Some of you here perhaps remember it, "*Animal flens imperituum*," an odd phrase. There are great Latinists here who will tell you that its truest meaning is probably this, "an animal with plenty of tears," plenty of obstacles which draw the tears, but an animal which is going to win, to conquer the obstacles and to rule instead of being ruled by them in the end, and if that were so in the time of the heathen philosopher nearly two or three thousand years ago, it may well be translated into something higher and nobler when it takes shape in the thoughts and aspirations of a younger nation looking ahead into the future, and meaning that the future shall be greater and better than the past. I believe I said that you young men of Canada are perfectly and intensely loyal to the idea of our British Empire. (Applause.) I mean the serious solid kind of loyalty, not that which centres itself mainly in little flags, or which finds its most potent

voice when South African victories take place. But the larger and more permanent kind of loyalty which centres about the thought of a gigantic and illimitable trust committed to men who believe in its greatness, who feel their inadequacy to discharge it fully, but yet mean to discharge it to the very utmost for good, and believe that the result will be for the enormous and incalculable bettering of the world. It is, every student of history would tell us, one of the most strange things in the story of the last few centuries, how the empire grew to be what it is, how it was not only gradual but it was even unintentional in many ways; how it came about. I think one great writer says that England became an empire in a condition of absent-mindedness, that it came about not because people set themselves down to think, "We are going to widen the limits of British rule," but because fresh opportunities presented themselves, and when the responsibility, local or temporary, had been discharged, lo, it was found that the responsibility was going to be permanent because something else had become subject to the dominion of the British Parliament. Now, if that is to become true it means that in the unrolling of the world's story under a Divine and unseen power that that responsibility was rolling up for us until the time should come when people who had realized its greatness were going to make it an effective as well as a material thing. When I was a boy at school I remember well the keen pride we used to have in pointing to the large mass of red that could be seen on the globe as we turned it round, but I honestly do not think that in those days either the teacher or the fellow-students and school boys had learned to think much about what the answerableness really came to, and meant. That has come more recently, but it has come now. Do we take in that meaning, or let me put it another way. I suppose it is true that every nation has as able men, has some peculiar characteristics, which if they are properly used will be found to be distinctively and peculiarly effective. I suppose it is true further to say that the whole world is now aware that the British race does possess somehow or other a power that other nations on the earth's surface have not shown, the power of permanent continuance, and of holding an Imperial position. Do we always remember that in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries there was not only the beginning then of a greater Britain, but there was a greater Spain, there was a Greater France, a Greater Portugal, and a Greater Holland, and now the Greater Britain remains, and the other nations are for the most part content with the responsibilities which belong to that bit of Europe large or small which they occupy. That means much. It means that somehow or other in the unrolling of the world's story and the apportioning by God of the trusts to the different nations there has been apportioned to us in England a power that other nationalities have not possessed, not of governing and ruling, but of holding for the general betterment of the world, large tracts of the world's surface, and holding them continuously as well. (Applause.)

If that is all true, as I have said already, it means very much. I think we have learned it in England better in the last ten years; less than ten years, eight or nine years, than we had ever learned it at all before. I imagine that I am treading on familiar ground. I know it is almost a truism to say that we in England began to realize it adequately for the first time, well, more than ten years ago. In 1887, when the Jubilee of our great Queen was held, it was a revelation to the people of London and to the people of England. We had not taken in adequately what our Imperial brotherhood and federation meant until this memorable Jubilee, these six days and their celebrations. And then we were given ten years to think about it, and there came the sixtieth anniversary, the Diamond Jubilee, as it was called, of the great Queen, and having had those ten years to think it over and learn the responsive enthusiasm with which that idea found welcome then in England and Scotland at least, we were in line for the other,—something which marked a step forward, a new development of the picture, in our home idea of what colonial life and its magnificence really signified to us all. And this was given by the death of the great Queen and all that that implied. I was one of those who took part in the memorable pageant which crossed the waters of the Solent at sunset on a February day, and carried the loved remains of our sovereign whom the whole empire had venerated to her last resting place, and as we passed through the long line of steamships that guarded, that kept that few miles of passage across the calm water, I was standing with a group of men who were speaking together, and talking of what it all meant. What struck us most was not the booming of the guns from the great ships as the little black cortege passed, but it was rather the echoes that were coming to us of the voice which was ringing round the world, of how the whole empire in its every part was absolutely at one in that hour. It was what was meant by the tears thus widely shed, the loyalty thus quietly and feelingly expressed throughout the world, and the making our own forever of the idea of sacred responsibility which had grown into being during the earthly life then at an end, and had grown into being as a thought which had come to stay. I believe that to be a true fact in modern history, one which is brimful of significance above all for you, for if you have come into your inheritance of power and responsibility with growing manhood to-day, it is at a time when the Empire as a whole has realized what it and its answerableness and its greatness means, and it will be for you to make that answerableness bear fruit as I have said already, in a worthy and an ever worthier life of your own. I believe that can come true, and I think it will, and I stand here before you to-day and say, and I cannot help saying, that there is no more necessary subject for our thoughts and our prayers than that fruit may be given to the growth of that idea of answerableness and responsibility, and there is no work-field in the world in which that fruit can be more profitably cultivated, or the trees bear it more abundantly

than in the vast, the illimitable tracts of the Dominion to which you belong. (Applause.) What we want to-day in the words of one of Kipling's most stirring poems is to get down to the depths,—off the surface—down to what he calls the "imperishable plinth" of things seen and unseen that touch our position. Once we have done that, once we have got down to the depths in our own life and the common life, depend upon it the answer will come not merely in the broadening and deepening but in the making secure of our lives, and it will be in all concerns to which we put our hand in a progressive and advancing life. Once more what we want is that the men, and the women,—the men we think of especially at this hour,—shall pay as a tribute their element of confidence to the common stock so that those who come to the top, who are the leaders in statesmanship or in smaller things, be it in the things for which our public life is responsible, or the concerns of our great commercial undertakings, shall be the right men. This is, I believe, the way in which we can best meet the responsibilities which have grown up, and come to be realized for the first time almost within the memory of one-half of those assembled here to-day.

Your great land, I have said again and again this week, impresses everyone who sees it for the first time as a country of mighty beginnings. None can think that we have reached maturity or anything like it. Look ahead twenty, thirty, or forty years, and think what those beginnings will have meant. I take courage by the idea of the great power, forcefulness, character, and deep-down probity of life which have characterized the whole of the onward march of the British people. We feel thankful that that is going to be so also during the coming years, and in this land. Set your hands, brothers all, to that task, and depend upon it, it will not be in vain. First learn to grow, then to think, then to resolve, then to put that resolve into action. God bless you and God speed you in the task.

(October 3, 1904).

Canada and Its Relations to Great Britain

THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, M.P.

Mr. President, Your Honor, Your Worship, Ladies and Gentlemen : First, let me thank you for the very cordial welcome you have given me. You have made me feel, in the words of the song which we have just heard, that an Englishman is at home in Canada, (applause), and perhaps I may say with a view to part of the audience that an Englishman is not less at home if in addition to being an Englishman he is also a Scotchman. (Applause.) I have, however, gentlemen, one great embarrassment in rising to say a few words to you, namely, that I do not know upon what subject to speak to you. When I sought for some light on that question it was intimated to me that it did not much matter, (laughter), that I might offer a few remarks upon things in general. I thought, however, that perhaps it would be best if I took this opportunity of saying a few words to you upon what strikes a man from the old country coming into Canada, both in regard to Canada itself and in regard to its relations to the old country. (Hear, hear.) I think that I ought to avoid speaking upon Canadian politics because you are in the middle of a general election, (laughter), and if I were to try to launch my fragile bark who can tell what shoals or rocks it might strike. I ought also to avoid British politics because I think—I cannot fail to think—that it is not part of the game to come into any other country even into one which is so much a part of ourselves as Canada is of England, and there to bring forward our domestic controversies—the controversies of Britain, and draw them out before you when the other side would not have opportunity of answering what the one side would like to say. Therefore I think I will avoid British politics also. And indeed you are occupied sufficiently by your own, and probably before long we in England shall be sufficiently occupied by the general election which we all expect, and which some of us very much desire. (Applause and laughter.) There is one subject, however, that comes to my mind which, although it relates to Britain, is not really a matter of party politics, and therefore I may just say one word, and that is, I should like to express the feeling which I am sure is the feeling which has been experienced in Canada, of regret for the loss of one of the most brilliant ornaments of our parliament, Sir William Harcourt who died on Saturday morning last. He was a most distinguished man, accomplished in many ways, and wonderfully versed in the law and practice of parliament. He was a wonderfully acute and experienced parliamentary strategist also, and a brilliant debater, fully versed in argument and logic,

and he was above all devoted to the House of Commons. No man had a higher respect for it. No man treasured its traditions with greater fidelity, and no man I will also say was more attached to the principles of civil and religious liberty and to the principles of the British constitution. (Applause). And I venture to say this because I am sure there is nobody in the English parliament, to whichever side of politics he may belong, who would not agree with everything that I venture to say of him.

It is now thirty-four years since I first visited Canada in 1870, and I can hardly tell you how great is the contrast between Canada as it was then and as it is to-day. It is like the difference between a tranquil pool and the rushing rapids of Niagara. Canada then was quiet and peaceful, and very pleasant for a stranger to come to because the people were most genial, most hospitable, and there was not much motion or life compared to what there is now. One felt as if he was in some quiet place,—almost like some quiet part if the old world, but now what a contrast there is. I have visited Canada four times since, and every time I have been more and more struck by the prodigious advances in population, in wealth, in industry and in every kind of material greatness and resource.

In those days your railways did not go as far as Lake Superior. Now you have got a magnificent line uniting you through the finest scenery on the continent with Vancouver Island and Puget Sound. In those days, although you had Confederation, British Columbia was not a member. In those days you had not developed, hardly even divined the enormous resources of the northwest—of Manitoba and beyond. In those days your universities were comparatively small. They had already the services of some very excellent and eminent men, but they were doing nothing like the work; they were organized on nothing like the scale of the universities of Toronto, Montreal, and in a smaller degree the University of Kingston, and I ought to add Winnipeg also, and there is hardly a single line of national development, be it industrial, social, intellectual or ecclesiastical, on which one's thoughts rest when he comes to Canada in which I am not struck by the prodigious advances you have made. No greater development of national prosperity has, I think, been seen in our time. I am happily relieved from the necessity of attributing this either to the excellence of the present Government of Canada, (laughter),—for which it will I suppose probably be claimed,—or on the other hand of saying that it would not have been very much greater if the policy of the opposition had been followed. (Renewed laughter). Governments and oppositions must be very different here from what they are in England if they do not claim every piece of good fortune as due to their own wisdom. But there is the fact to whichever party or whichever policy it be due,—there is the fact, and speaking without any regard to politics, I think we should all agree that the development of Canada is due partly to the splendid natural resources which Providence has bes-

towed upon you, and partly to the energetic spirit in which you have developed those resources. You have grown into a nation, and you have grown into a nation which has an extraordinary variety of resources, not only in its agriculture, but in its minerals, not only in minerals, but in forests and fisheries, and you have with that a variety of scenery and climate; conditions which would have developed if you had not chosen to be united, if you had remained as three or four different nations instead of that one in which you have grown. One thing still I hope you will before long attain. There is one British colony which remains outside, and which I think ought to come in. (Applause). I do not know whether I ought to say of the people of Newfoundland that their soul is like a star and dwells apart. But at any rate I will say that it is quite time that they added their star to that constellation which you compose, and which stretches from Prince Edward Island to the shores of the Pacific, and this I am sure would be to their benefit even more than to the benefit of the Canadian confederation.

And now let me say a word or two about the feelings that we in England have in regard to some of those questions which concern us in the old country as well as yourselves. I hope I need not tell you that there is nobody in England to whatever political party he belongs who does not desire to maintain in all its fullness the political connection with unites us. (Applause). And I think that those of you who suppose that this is a recent thing in England are not quite correct, if indeed any of you do so suppose. I never remember a time in England when we were not proud of our colonies. But of late years we have come to know more about them, we have visited them more frequently, and there has been during the later years of the Queen's reign, and particularly on the occasions of the two Jubilees and the coronation, a more emphatic, explicit and effusive declaration of our sentiments, of affection and pride than perhaps during earlier years. I remember an anecdote to show that however strong our feelings were, our knowledge of the colonies was not at one time very great,—an anecdote told to me by a former Secretary of the Colonial office. It is now a good many years ago when a leading Canadian statesman came to visit England, and was received by one of the Queen's Ministers, who greeted him very cordially, and said, "I am delighted to see you. How is everything in Canada? and how is our dear old friend Sir John," not knowing that the visitor had been one of the bitterest opponents of Sir John for many years past. (Laughter). Still with the growing wealth of knowledge shown by eminent Englishmen, this has been quite impossible for a good many years past. I think we are trying perhaps not always as fully as we should to follow and even to understand your politics, although no country ever yet did understand the politics of another. It did not need the events of the South African war to convince us of your affections for the old country. That was indeed a remarkable evidence of it. I am not going to say a word about the

war, whether it was wise or not, whether it was necessary or not, whether it was just, although upon that subject I entertain myself very decided opinions. But I will say this, that the spirit with which so many volunteers came from Canada, did make a great impression upon us, and enabled many Englishmen who had not previously done so to realize a sense of the solidarity of the empire, and to be proud of that solidarity. And in that I must pay, as so many Englishmen already have done, my tribute of gratitude to the spirit of earnest sympathy with everything concerning the empire that you showed in Canada then.

But now let me come to another question, which is perhaps of a little more direct and immediate interest both to you and to us. In one sense it may be considered a political question and yet I believe it is not, so far as Canada is concerned, a party question. It has been suggested to me that I might say a few words to you about it, and as I gather that it is not a party question here I will venture to do so because perhaps it is just as well that you should understand the views entertained in England about it, I mean the views of Englishmen with regard to the proposal that has been made to create in England a preferential tariff which should give certain tariff advantages to the colonies which are not given to other countries. Now I do not intend to discuss that question for a single moment as a matter of English party controversy. But I think it may be useful and proper that I should tell you what is the attitude which, so far as I can judge, English public opinion has taken about it, and which English public opinion is likely to disclose and express at the general election which will take place in the next few months, because I should be extremely sorry if here in Canada you do not understand the feelings of Englishmen upon that subject. I will try to represent them as fairly as I can. English public opinion so far has not shown itself favorable to the idea of a preferential tariff, and that is not confined to one political party, because although the Liberal party in England has been perfectly unanimous on the subject, there are also a large number of Conservatives in England, and among them men of great ability, authority and experience, who take exactly the same view as is taken by the Liberals, and therefore it is not a question upon which the people have taken sides in England according to their general political proclivities. Now, the reasons why English public opinion is not favorably disposed to the plan are shortly these: in the first place they think,—and remember I am not here expressing my own opinions, I am going merely to tell you as fairly as I can what I believe to be the dominant view among Englishmen,—in the first place they think that the English government, the English parliament, would lose its own freedom in imposing and taking off taxes which it now enjoys if it were to come under a series of permanent bargains with the colonies by which it would be bound to maintain certain taxes at a certain figure. In a country like England, like Britain I ought to

say, especially as a Scotchman, where our budget varies greatly from year to year, where we are sometimes driven to exceptional expenditures, where we have to strengthen our navy and our army, where we sometimes unfortunately engage in war, it becomes of supreme necessity that we should hold in our hands perfect freedom to impose taxes when occasion arises, and to reduce taxation when the occasion is past, and to do so with sole reference to the needs, capacities, and resources of our own people. (Applause). We feel in England that we should lose that freedom if we came under a permanent bargain in the nature of a commercial treaty with anyone outside the limits of Great Britain, and I will go further, and say that we feel that we should also impose that upon you. If you were to make a bargain with us you would feel yourselves bound in honor to keep the tariff at the same point at which the bargain had fixed it. There might be some here who thought that they were not getting a sufficient preference in the British markets, and might desire to have a tariff rearrangement, and might threaten to leave the arrangement if the British tariff were not raised against foreign countries and lowered in favor of the colony, or some might think that your own tariff is too low, as against British goods, and desire to have it raised. At all events I have heard that such views have sometimes been held here. (Laughter). At any rate nothing is more probable than that both suggestions might be made in this country and also on the other side of the ocean. Now, it would not be satisfactory either to you or to us that our country should be permanently bound under an arrangement which might turn out from time to time to work inconveniently to both countries. Moreover, we in Britain have been accustomed to free trade. It is a system that suits us. Whether it is a good thing for every country or not is an academic question,—an academic question I see it is for you in Canada, and I do not propose to enter upon it, but we have prospered under it. We are attached to it. We believe that for us as a country depending for its supply of food upon imports from abroad, living very largely off the manufactures it sends out, finding it absolutely essential that the necessities of life and raw materials should come as freely as possible into England,—from a policy which experience has approved. And this is especially the case with regard to food. I want you to realize that, because it is the governing point to us in England and especially to the working classes. In England, as you know, we are ruled by the working classes, they are the great majority of the voters in nearly every constituency in England, and it is by their wish in the long run that the policy of Great Britain is determined. They feel the supreme necessity to them of having their food as cheap as they can get it. Happily for us our working classes, although they are very far below the condition in which we should like to see them, although there is a great deal of penury amongst them, although a large part of our population is still very badly housed, happily for us our working population is bet-

ter off, better fed, better clothed, and altogether in a better condition than in any other of the great countries of Europe. If you compare the working class populations of Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium with that of England, you will find that they pay as a rule more for their food, and live on a lower scale than the working classes in England. Now, the working classes in England attribute that mainly to the system of free imports which gives us food as cheap as it is in Canada or in the United States, or in the Argentine, from which the large portion of our food comes. And they think that a protective tax which would make food dearer to them would be a very serious blow at their prosperity and well-being, and I am bound to say that I should not like to contemplate the consequences of a famine or even a dearth of food in England at a time when we had imposed a tax upon the prime necessities of life. Suppose for instance that there had been a bad harvest in Canada, suppose that the price of wheat had gone up; suppose that the price of food was going up in England; suppose that had been aggravated by the operations of those rings of speculators who are sometimes able to act even upon so large a trade as the grain trade; suppose that our people were heavily oppressed by the price of food, and that people went among them saying that food was dear because of the high tariff, that if this tariff was taken off their food would be very much cheaper, and that the tariff was kept on only to please the colonies; that would be a direct way of exciting a feeling in Great Britain against a colonial arrangement that does not exist now, and of making people feel that they had been imposed upon for the sake of the colonies, a feeling they have never had, and I hope they never will have—(Applause). I should excessively regret to see any sentiment in England excited by the idea or belief that our working people—the poorest of the poor, the class who depend chiefly upon bread for the support of their life, were being sacrificed to the interests of any class outside of their own country, or indeed within their own country. That is after all the part of the case which appeals most strongly to the working classes, and that is the reason why the working classes so far have not shown themselves favorable to this proposal. But I will go further and say that those of us who have studied colonial history, and those of us also who have studied the history of commercial negotiations between different nations, and the working of commercial treaties and the carrying on of tariff wars, have come to the conclusion that it is very difficult to make these commercial bargains without a risk of misunderstanding and of provoking ill feeling. I should feel,—many of us would feel,—that if we were to embark upon a series of bargains with the colonies promising a tariff rise here and a tariff rise there against other countries, a lowering here and another there,—perhaps being accused of giving more to one colony than to another,—we should be entering on an exceedingly dangerous course which might imperil the relations of perfect friendliness and confidence, the relations which have hitherto existed,

and therefore many of us believe so far from drawing the bonds closer between the colonies and ourselves, the system of preferential tariffs would be more likely to provide new occasions which do not exist now, of friction and irritation between the mother country and the colonies. And if you will look back to the time when we had a preference with Canada in connection with Canadian timber and West Indian sugar, in the days before Sir Robert Peel's reform, you will find that there were constant difficulties cropping up then, and that neither the mother country nor the colonies was satisfied. These are the reasons therefore, as far as I can state, which have disposed English public opinion not to look with favor upon this scheme. But I must earnestly beg you to believe that these reasons do not spring in any degree from indifference to the welfare of Canada or of Australia, nor in the smallest degree from any absence or lack of desire to maintain the bonds of connection as closely as possible between you and ourselves. (Applause). If the principle of mutual preferential tariffs is not approved by the English people at the next general election it will certainly not be because of any indifference to the importance of maintaining the Imperial connection. It will be solely because it is thought that it will not be a good thing for the mass of our people and because it is thought also that it would not in the long run promote the end of drawing closer the bonds of connection. I would have you know that on this subject of the connection of the mother land with the colonies there is no difference of opinion in England. In Britain it has been for sometime past the practice of one political party rather to claim that it has a monopoly of attachment to the colonies. I do not know whether representations to that effect are ever made here (laughter),—but if they are made here, I can assure you that as regards the people of England they are entirely baseless, and that nothing could be more untrue than to represent the British people as being divided in the least degree in feeling upon this momentous subject. No one in the Liberal party for which I will venture upon this occasion to speak,—no one in the Liberal party who is in the least entitled to speak,—has so far as I know ever said a single word showing indifference for the greatness of the colonies, or a disposition to underestimate the importance of the connection with them. Most assuredly Mr. Gladstone did not. Mr. Gladstone was not a man who was given to declamation, or to effusive flights of sentiment upon these subjects, but he over and over again expressed in the strongest way his sense of the magnificent mission given to the British race, and to the empire as a whole, and his conviction that by maintaining the connection between all the parts of the British race and all the parts of the British empire, that magnificent mission would be best discharged. (Applause.) I would venture to say for myself that long before any of these questions had come up I learned that my friend who was then a member of

the House of Commons, and who is now to be your Governor-General,—Lord Grey (Applause),—and I venture to assure you that beyond any doubt you could not have any Governor-General whose personal qualities, amiability, open-mindedness, generosity and kindliness will more commend themselves to the people of Canada than those of Lord Grey,—while Lord Grey and I were members of the House of Commons in 1884 we were then members of the Imperial Federation League; therefore, I may claim that we at any rate are no new laborers in this field, but have from the first time we took any interest in politics labored to secure a closer connection between Canada and Great Britain. What can be done for the maintenance of that connection is of course a very large question. I think that there are the means, in fact we all know that there are means by which the connection might be made more close. The colonies have suggested an Imperial Council of defence. It has been suggested that you in Canada should in addition to what you do for the militia also do something as a contribution to the cost of the Imperial navy which defends all the territories of the British Crown and all the commerce of British subjects at sea.

I can say that, although I am perfectly certain no one in Britain will press you to do anything beyond what your own wishes and feelings suggest, if any offer of that kind were to be made it would be received by us with gratitude and pleasure, and as another mark of your sympathy for the empire. (Applause.) It has been also suggested, and I think with good reason, that the colonies, (and by the colonies I mean of course the great self-governing colonies such as your own, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa,) should have some voice in determining the foreign policy of the British empire. Logically, your claim is undeniable. You would be exposed in the event of war to such disadvantages as might necessitate warlike operations, and your ships at sea would be as liable as the British ships to capture, and of course any contribution that Canada might make towards Imperial defence would give her still greater claim to be considered and to have a voice in settling matters of foreign relations between the empire and other powers. It is not very easy, however, to advise a satisfactory means for attaining that end. Proposals have been made that we should turn the Privy Council to effect for that purpose, and other proposals have been made that the Agents General, the High Commissioners, and the other colonial officers should occasionally be called into Council. I think I may say, however, with some confidence that if any question of foreign policy arose in which the interests of any British colony were directly involved, no British Government would take any step without first satisfying itself of the way it would affect the colonies, (and of the colonial interests that were involved, and of the sentiments of the people of the colonies. It would be their duty and it would be a necessity to do so. We should feel it due to you and to the empire as a whole that we should

know what your feelings were, and that we should have regard for your feelings and wishes. But to advise a constitutional method and to give you an especial and direct legal vote and voice in questions of Imperial policy is a problem which has not yet been solved, although I do not think it is at all impossible of solution. I will tell you frankly why many of us in England think that it ought not to be pressed. We think that in these things the mother country should not attempt to put any pressure upon the colonies. We think that if anything is to be done in this direction the proposal should come first rather from the colonies than from the mother country. We know that you and Australians also value very highly the fullness and completeness of your self-government, and your full power of determining your own affairs in your own way. (Applause). I think in that you are right. I think that self-government belongs to nationhood. You are a nation, you have a national spirit, you have national aspirations. You are members of the empire, but you have also your own interests and feelings. But there are many things which it is of importance for us in England to remember and to understand, as there are also many things for Canadians to remember and understand. And you ought naturally to be jealous of the rights of self-government that belong to nationhood. Let me assure you on that point that I do not think anybody in England contemplates any change which would in the least degree endanger what you so highly value.

One word more I would like to say about your relations with Britain. I believe that the maintenance of a political connection between Britain and the colonies is one of the greatest guarantees that we can have for the peace of the whole world. (Applause.) The empire now stretches through all climates, and is washed by all seas. As long as it is at peace the world is at peace, and other contests are local, but anything which may affect the empire and set it at war with another great power must result in injury to the whole world. Therefore, we have a duty upon us to try and make the British Empire an empire of peace, a duty which is becoming greater and greater with the process of the suns. We need peace in Britain because we have still many tasks to perform. We need to restrict our expenditure. We need to improve the condition of our people. We need many things from which war would divert us. You here in Canada are in many respects better placed than we in England. You have not inherited many of the evils of the old world. You have no pauper population. Your agricultural population is nearly entirely the owner of the land it tills, which is unhappily not the case in England. You have many advantages and blessings which the people of England do not yet enjoy. But you cannot be sure that unless you adopt and maintain a wise policy you will always retain them. You also one day will have vast cities like ours; you may also if your legislation is not wise have a pauper population. You also may have great fortunes threatening the well-being of the community as we have in Europe, and as they

have in some other parts of the world. (Laughter). And I think that you need peace just as we do in order to enable you to work out the salvation of your people along the best possible lines. It is a splendid task you have before you. You come into a new country with a great variety of resources, and of almost unequalled fertility, and you have got the cream of the population of Great Britain, and in another part of Canada you have a population who, although not of your own race, appear to be able to work happily and fraternally among you, and who are among the most industrious and law-abiding on this great continent. (Applause). You have therefore a magnificent destiny before you, and when we contemplate that destiny may we not be stirred to think that there is something better and higher for us, which ought to make us admire the empire, than merely the sense of its extent, its wealth and its population? (Hear, hear). It is the moral mission which Providence has given to the British race which constitutes the greatest of the empire. Our greatness will depend that in the far-off centuries when the British Empire will be judged upon the foundations that we are laying now. It is by the moral purpose with which the British Empire discharges the functions that God has given it that we shall be judged. My prayer, and my hope for Canada and the British colonies everywhere, is that they shall use the wealth and prosperity that are given to them as a means for discharging the mission with which they are charged for mankind. It has been our privilege to be the greatest commercial and the greatest colonizing country of the world. We have a duty of our own. Let us hope that we will discharge it in a worthy spirit, and I will venture to say as a last word that in all that Canada has to do towards the accomplishment of the mission of the British race, you will have all the help and all the sympathy that Britain can offer, for among all the glories which Britain counts as hers, there is none higher than that she has been the mother of such a daughter as Canada. (Applause.)

(October 10, 1904).

The Indeterminate Sentence System

By W. P. ARCHIBALD, DOMINION PAROLE OFFICER.

The man who commits murder in New York is in hardly more danger of going to the death chair than he is of being struck by a trolley car. The facts are proven by the records.

In 1866, there were four convictions for the eight murders committed. In 1904 there were 27 convictions of the 147 murders and two executions for the year: Seven life sentences.

Number.	Year.
8	1866
5	1872
84	1885
91	1896
147	1904

	Year.	Homicides.	Convictions.
London, six and half millions	1904	24	20
New York	1904	147	27

The aggregate homicides in one year of London, Paris, and Berlin do not equal the awful murder record of New York City.

Population of Prisons	1904	(Federal) Canadian	
Kingston.....	448		
St. Vincent de Paul	365		
Dorchester	250	Year	Year
Manitoba.....	156	1898	1901
New Westminster.....	109	1,447	1,405
	1,328		

	1901	1904
Increase Juvenile, under 20 years of age.....	134	161
60.....	42	32

Those under 20 years of age constitute 12 per cent. of the entire number. This fact brings the origin of crime very close to the home of the country.

Comment. The end to be attained by imprisonment is not alone the atonement for the transgression, but also for the reformation of the

transgressor. But reformation in a prison without re-adoption to society upon release is a house built on the sand. It is not stability. Hence the opinion has grown strong in me that the treatment of the convict after his discharge is one of the most vital and important questions in the science of penology.

My experience in the Canadian prisons is, although the unusually unruly instincts of the criminal are not without continuity, there is a great though undeveloped amount of good in them all. True it is, some criminals are found who are not ripe for moral development or remodeling, but on the whole these men are the exception to the rule. Earnest, prudent and unselfish ministrations are not rejected by the delinquent. If tempered by good sense, the results are often more satisfactory. There is a percentage of men in our prisons (and discharged from our prisons) who have become infatuated with a life of crime. They find in it exhilaration, and a preverted exercise for their abilities. They are criminals for crime's sake. It is their profession. They despise society and regard it as their lawful prey. They seek no rehabilitation. But why are they so? There must be a cause for this or our system of law and order have not the right fundamentals. The cause of this does not in all cases, and, to the entire extent, some would have you believe, lie with environments or inheritance, though without much doubt we can trace some of the origin here. In the past, perhaps long ago, when they would have been pliable to the good influences when they were willing and open for reformation, the mark of notoriety was stamped on them by society's agents and guardians, they were cast out friendless, no helping hand was turned to them. Now they seek no sympathy. They are the sours of humanity—their hands are against all and the hands of all are against them. My close contact with criminals in our prisons reveals many of the habitual and recidivous class whose past has been one of blight and discouragement and whose future is a mass of darkness. They respond feebly or not at all to the call of reformation; they have left hope behind. It is greatly their own fault, I know, but have not their fellowmen, who first treated them unreasonably, uncharitably and unjustly at times and persecuted them as felons and recidivists, a goodly share in the existence of this class of criminals? If this is true is it not a blot on our social conditions? How many that at first were criminals by accident have thus been driven into becoming criminals by design.

No doubt the law has had something to do and is responsible to a measure for existing conditions. My great difficulty in dealing with the criminal class is the length or duration of sentence for offences. We are changing in these matters as progression marks the onward march of prison reform in Canada.

The great stone book of nature reveals many strange records of the past. In the red sandstone there are found in some places, marks which are clearly the impression of showers of rain, and these are so

perfect that it can be detected in which direction the shower came, and this ages ago. Even so, evil leaves its track behind it, also the effort of past ages in the reformation of the criminal.

Whence comes law? Written or unwritten? How does man stand in relation to the past? Is present knowledge the accumulative experience of past ages? Fixed sentences were not always in vogue in the prisons of the nations. Should we not always profit by our experience in dealing with our criminals in Canada? If a system is proven ineffectual in meeting the object sought, and so much desired by those in authority, why not improve on the system until it proves itself an effectual factor in dealing with the complex problems of criminality. The trouble is, we are too slow to improve and to adopt measures founded on our past experience, hence we are face to face with some very grave questions in connection with the reformation, punishment and correction of the criminal. Let me quote from the Department of Justice, extracts or a portion of a sessional paper, No. 34, presented by the inspectors to the parliament now in session at Ottawa.

"The system of fixed sentences, upon which our penal code is based, is open to grave objections. It is illogical in principal, ineffectual in results, and also inconsistent with the real object of imprisonment.

"Individual freedom is enjoyed as the result of state protection, and the state has the rightful power to take away that which it has given. Such action can only be justified, however, on evidence that is necessary for the protection of the individuals who compose the state. The right of the state to protect is undoubted; the moral right to avenge or to enforce regeneration has yet to be established. Hence the real and only justifiable object of imprisonment is the protection of society. In the practical operation of the fixed sentence system there is a natural tendency to confuse incidental effects—such as punishment, deterrence and individual regeneration—with the real object for which the sentence is imposed. In other words, the incidental effects overshadows the real object with the results that the imposition of a sentence resolves itself into an attempt to equalize two unknown quantities. The degree of criminality in a delinquent cannot be even approximately estimated, much less definitely determined, by the exposure of one illegal act; nor can the period of incarceration necessary to fit him for good citizenship be accurately judged in advance by any exercise of the human intellect. Yet this mathematical impossibility is attempted every time a fixed sentence is pronounced. The judicial records are replete with illustrations of the effect of fixed sentences. For example, "A" has been a peaceable, law-abiding citizen for fifty years, but, under the impulse of momentary passion commits a serious crime. The realization of the effect of his act may be the most complete safeguard to the public against a repetition. The statute, however, has fixed the penalty for the offence, and, the automatic action of the court sends him to the

penitentiary at the public expense, for a long period of years. Another man, "B," who is known to be an habitual criminal without other means of livelihood, is convicted for some minor offence and sentenced to the common jail for ten days, after which period he is released to renew his career of crime. In both cases it is the dead crime and not the living criminal that is considered.

From which of these does society require the greatest protection? How is it possible to administer actual justice under such a system?

We submit the opinion that a penological system that fails to safeguard the interests of society and ignores the real object of imprisonment is not compatible with modern civilization. A sentence to imprisonment usually (but not invariably) involves punishment, and it may or may not have a deterrent effect upon others. Imprisonment should be accompanied by all reasonable facilities for moral reformation. These are, however, merely incidental. All that the state requires— all that it has a right to exact—is that society shall be protected against the delinquent until he shall have given satisfactory evidence that he will comply with the legal requirements of the state and respect the rights of his fellow citizens.

The substitution of indefinite sentences for fixed sentences would involve a radical change in the principle upon which the penal code is based, and would also materially increase the labor and responsibility of the department concerned. It is, however, open to none of the objections that attach to the existing system, and it is absolutely consistent with the object to be attained. Among other advantages :—

(a) It would provide a safeguard to the delinquent against the undue severity of his sentence, and to society against inadequacy of the period of restraint.

(b) It would enable the convict to realize that the key to freedom is in his own hands, and that the only possible hope of future liberty depends upon his being amenable to advice and discipline, until he shall have convinced the authorities of his sincere determination to be a law-abiding man.

(c) It would obviate the abuses arising from attempts to "make punishment fit the crime," and enable the adoption of the more correct principle of making the period of restraint fit the criminal.

(d) It would give perpetual protection to society against the determined and incorrigible criminal; instead of the intermittent protection afforded by the existing systems.

(e) The fitness of the delinquent to re-assume full citizenship would be determined only after a reasonable period of observation and by one authority upon uniform principles; thus obviating the scandal and hardship that arise from the inequality of sentences imposed in advance, by authorities of diverse opinions, each acting upon his individual view of penal requirements.

In Switzerland,—in 1874 they adopted the Patron system, and Indeterminate sentence. 78 per cent. were then recidivists—8 years after the relapsed criminal numbered five per cent. Now they seldom have a relapsed criminal in their prisons.

Ticket of Leave. Years. Revocations.

10	1899	...
192	1900	3
179	1901	3
257	1902	9
167	1903	27
195	1904	22
1000	6 yrs.	67

Note:—The number of revocations does not apply to the licenses issued during the year they were revoked, but it includes also licenses issued previous to that year; that is to say, a license issued in 1901 might only have been revoked in 1904.

A fair way to obtain an accurate percentage of revocating is by taking the aggregate of licenses, year and cancellation. Licenses 1,000 6 years, 67 revocations. Revocations 6.7 per hundred for the whole period the act has been in force, viz., 6 years. Of course the proportion was very much lower during the first five years.

It was 5 per hundred.

Parole.

The most critical, the most important time in the ex-convict's life is the day of his discharge. During his incarceration, he has had the benefit of the lessons taught to him by the hand of the law, but what about the criminal on discharge.

Five years ago when I began the work in earnest to help discharged men, I was horrified at the large number of men discharged without the slightest knowledge given as to their future prospects or occupation. Nobody seemed to know, very few cared. The great need in doing something practical to help these men was ever before me, I immediately began to improve the opportunity of providing employment for the men coming from prison. During the first year, I only managed to place one hundred and fifty, toiling incessantly to accomplish this. Many were the obstacles encountered, I need not enumerate. It is not easy for a man to gain his social status when it is once lost. Industry is the key to the situation. During the last year we have placed over nine hundred men coming direct from prison, this is an evidence of what can be done, and it opens up a prospectus for a much greater and stronger work for the future.

The helping of men on parole or conditional release, will require careful after-care with additional responsibilities to make this scheme the success intended. I will try and give, as clearly and as accurately as I can, what is opportune and practical to suggest. In this scheme we recognize three great factors, the ex-convict, the parole officer, and the philanthropic man or patron as the centres of interest, all the other factors have value in their relation to them. This is the fundamental principle of the Swiss system which I consider the best in the world. It operates in a very simple way, but most comprehensive, and, the results are tremendously in its favor when we get down to practical operation. The parole officer stands as a mediator between the convict ready to leave prison (paroled or not) and the patron on the outside. While even at the best the parole officer will never be able to give an absolute guarantee of the convict's perseverance, he can, however, construct great probabilities, perhaps a moral certainty, that the convict, after his discharge will not belie the expectation of his benefactors. The discharged man or woman is to be brought in contact with the prospective patron on the outside altogether through the agency of the parole officer, otherwise the parole officer would not have sufficient knowledge necessary in successfully dealing with the individual case in hand. The parole officer no doubt assumes much responsibility, but I firmly believe that in a well regulated scheme (from the prison standpoint) the parole officer's position is such that he can best work upon and mould the moral susceptibilities of the prison inmates irrespective of creed or nationality. The parole officer certainly should not without much discrimination, propose any men from prison as object of sympathy and aid. I know too well the inherent malice of human nature and he should endeavor to sift the worthy cases and the determined ones to reform from those that would be inclined to make our sympathies a mere blind, behind which to shelter temporarily their uncontrolled and vicious inclinations. This factor would only come from a study of the man both in and out of prison. The patron must keep the parole officer informed as to the conduct of the paroled or discharged prisoner. No man should be paroled from prison without employment, provided by the parole officer, also a patron having been found for him. I do not mean that the patron should open his home for the discharged man, or that he should by over generosity encourage the man in the enjoyment of any period of idleness. Of course the patron may feel some trepidation as to the possible actions of his protegee, but if the patron has confidence in human nature sufficient to take up the man from prison, he should likewise be firm in professing his attitude when necessary, and thus help to correct the often unreasonable bias that now exists in society. Not forgetting that the main safeguard of the patron lies in the sense, honor and responsibility which presumably has been engendered in the man from the societies working the person, or the parole officer, before he has been discharged from

prison. When once a man has been placed at work and has been made self-supporting, the duty of the patron would almost be a pleasure. An exhibition of continued friendly interest in this man will aid wonderfully toward the perseverance of the paroled or discharged convict. A paroled man must be given to understand clearly what will be expected of him in the letter of his license. Clergymen, professional men, all societies and churches, can join hands in the furtherance of this plan. I do not want to raise up and form a class of patrons by profession, the work must be spontaneous. It is the dawn of a better day for the unfortunate, and the erring and the discharged convict.

(October 17, 1904.)

The People as Municipalities

BY W. D. LIGHTHALL.

Mr. President and Gentlemen : I feel at home to-day—at home in the noble Province in which I was born, and in the beautiful and stately city of Toronto, of which every Canadian feels proud.

In this circle I should feel specially at home, for at the very time Mr. Sanford Evans was establishing the pioneer Canadian Club in Hamilton, I was starting a very similar institution, the Canadian National League at Montreal, some of the work of which is continued till the present time. We opened a pleasant correspondence over the matter and became friends. The many occasions in which people do the same things or produce the same inventions, when far apart and not in communication with each other go to prove that the cause of our will and thought are not altogether within us, but are the work of a wider power. Be that as it may you will understand one of my bonds of sympathy with this Club.

You have invited me here to speak on municipal topics, and I have entitled the subject "The People as Municipalities." You have doubtless extended this invitation because of my connection with the Union of Canadian Municipalities and its movement against bad company legislation. That movement rose out of a revolt against the iniquitous monopoly legislation affecting Montreal and half the Province of Quebec known as the Montreal Light, Heat & Power Company Charter passed during the winter of 1901.

It became clear that that bill was but one of the indications of a widespread danger to the liberties of the Canadian people—the introduction of the American trust system in its aspect of organized assaults on the life-blood of single localities by aid of perverted acts of legislation and



with the support of venal politicians. In every detail, gentlemen, it was an imported evil. The construction of the trust itself, its principles of combination of existing companies, its principle of bond-issue and stock manipulation, and the very wording of its legislation, were all simply copied from the trade journals of the light and power interests in the United States and aimed at raising profits in the same way and from the same unscrupulous methods. You people of Toronto are no strangers to the movement,—you have it with you also, as far as it dares go. It is a perversion of what ought to be only useful commercial enterprise. I believe that if not stayed, this baneful tendency would corrupt all our national and social life and turn us, both poor and well-to-do, from a nation with a marvellously free future into the servants and victims of a very small and baneful plutocracy. I thought that I would be doing an humble piece of national work if I could stay its progress. I say that the single municipality, no matter how large or intelligent, was treated with contempt and over-ridden. But I found also that Montreal was not alone and that all the live municipal authorities in the country had noted the same tendencies with alarm, and I felt that if we could but unite, press our protests all together upon Parliament and the Legislatures, and keep our hands on the telegraph keys ready to raise whatever degree of general conflagration might be required, that we should likely to force the position. After outlining this plan, I looked around for a suitable place to call a convention—Montreal was headed by a Mayor unfriendly to reform. Westmount, of which I was Mayor, was not so well suited as a larger city. Finally I chose Toronto and was willingly backed by an old friend, Oliver A. Howland, then Mayor, and by the Council of your city, among whom I may say one of the best friends of the movement was Mr. Urquhart, your present chief magistrate. Later on we received valuable aid from a number of other friends—strong men beside whom anything I could do was insignificant, such as E. F. Clarke of the one party and Sir William Mulock of the other—both true and loyal friends of the people. Mayor Fred Cook of Ottawa, Mr. Fullerton (who acted as our War Chief), W. F. Maclean, whose zeal was unrelenting; Senator Beique and Alderman Ames of Montreal, and many others. Well, in brief, the result of three years is that we have succeeded. We have practically stopped the stream of bad municipal legislation in the Dominion House and the Legislatures, have saved several millions of dollars to municipalities and are bringing some noteworthy questions into the view of the public. I shall not go into detail because the time is short and I want to speak of other aspects of the situation. When we first went to Parliament and the Legislatures, although I was well acquainted with much of our political life, I was imbued with the view that such iniquitous legislation must argue a total corruption of a large majority of the members. I am glad to say that the generality of our members are personally in sympathy

with honesty and progress. The successes of the charter-shark, the grasping monopolist, the legal sneak and the venal politician were won by deceiving the average member or dodging his attention and understanding. Nobody being present to oppose, one bad bill would get through. Emboldened by the ease with which it was done, the next bill was drawn in the same terms. Then something still more brazen was slipped in, which in turn was copied and improved upon, until some of these bills became true curiosities of craft. When the Union appeared and it became evident that it seriously represented the cities and other places, leading members hailed its advent with approbation and pressed the cause forward. The salient fact was developed—fraught with beneficent import to Canada—that there exists on each side in all our legislative houses a band of men of honor and high character of whom the country can well feel proud, and to whom a good cause can confidently appeal. The work of the municipal unionists has been a work for the nation in general. The principles for which they have fought have been fundamentals of popular liberty. That the municipalities have been able to come in and do this work is due to their being an independent force, free from the trammels both of party politics and of the influences of any one locality. Especially has the freedom of municipal life from party politics in Canada enabled us to go to the legislative body free to appeal to men of both sides, to unite them in voting, and perhaps even at times to play them a little against one another, emulating the harmless wisdom of the reptilian. We also appeal to English and French impartially, and have some of our best friends among the latter. The non-partisanship of municipal life is thus one of our most valuable national possessions, and cannot be insisted upon too much. In the United States great evils have arisen from the opposite principle. Among the difficulties with which we have had to attend—has been the changing nature of municipal councils and especially of the mayoralties. No sooner have good men well begun their best work than they are removed, and a new beginning has to be made. Fortunately, a certain proportion of the new men are apt to take up work with a fresh interest—but we have become much impressed with the advisability of advocating persistent re-election of tried men in Canadian municipalities. I would also suggest the establishment in each place of an advisory body of past mayors with legal authorization to meet once or more a year and make recommendations similar to those of a grand jury. We hope to meet part of the difficulty by aid of a small journal as our organ, enabling us to speedily inform all the new men of the nature and progress of what is being done. The fluctuating nature of councils has, moreover, raised for us some little tribulations in finance, since new members know nothing of the benefits their municipalities have received from the Union, and are ready to check or cut down the necessary appropriation. So that, being shortened in funds, we cannot carry out all that we see would be

best. This fluctuation of the councils also affects our inner body of workers to some extent. But we expect to gradually overcome all these elements of trouble and by persistently keeping on our way, and being on hand when badly wanted, may continue to do our service, and belie several prophecies and fears which our enemies and friends have made of our extinction. And just here I will say that to save the people is itself a reward and a delight. One thing I intend to repeat at all seasons and everywhere in Canada where any one will listen to me, is that the great need of our country is public spirit. We see every beneficent public movement neglected, many things of advantage to our world cannot even be attempted, and the entire labor of most of the existing movements is thrown upon the shoulders of a few generous souls. Why is this the case? The lack of public spirit is principally due to want of education on civics, especially in the schools and to a lack of reflection upon it, for our people have plenty of general good will. Our young are incessantly taught to prepare themselves for commercial life, but why should they not be also taught that they have serious obligations to their fellow-members of society, and that public service is honorable service. Their patriotism is directed to much that is useless and their instinct of self-sacrifice is only brought out in them in some rare outbreak of war. Let us not so readily sell for trifles the splendid things of mind and soul bequeathed by our glorious race—the old chivalry, the old generosity, the old honor, the old contempt for idle luxury and pelf, the old serious thoughtfulness on the life we live and take part in. Patriotism, as in the days of our fathers, ought to be a part of our religion. Are these things out of place for a people just in the process of founding a nation, of shaping its constitution, laws and destinies—of developing a whole new Europe as their possession—and of taking a leading part in the construction of the greatest Empire ever known—that paradoxical Empire, venerable with the dignities of age, yet fresh and vigorous with the coursing blood of youth, and whose eager life and growth are still in the future, not the past. Surely our systems of education should take practical account of the fact of such citizenship for our children. But whatever be the cause, I for one intend to take every opportunity of urging the call and necessity for Canadians to exercise public spirit, public spirit, and again and again public spirit.

And now a few words on the nature and ramifications of the principal evil which the Union of Municipalities was established to fight—the oppression of the public by the management of certain private corporations. It is as plain as twice two makes four that we are in an age of trusts—universal combinations of share-held capital. The trouble with share-held capital on the very large scale is that the shareholder usually does not investigate the morality of his officers—he exacts of them one thing only—dividends—and these under pain of decapitation.

The officer who fails in providing dividends, is executed. By this process the respectable shareholder unconsciously forces shark methods on his agents. But there is another class—certain large shareholders and directors who go further—they know and direct the bribery of politicians, the crooked schemes of law shysters, the thefts of public streets and franchises. These men know well in their consciences that they are simple thieves, but they hope to hide the fact and stand before their fellow-citizens as subscribers to charities and men of standing. Towards them we owe the state a severe duty for the sake of the young and for the sake of example. That duty is to prevent the success of the criminal in his object of appearing respectable. We should brand such men as what they are—mere thieves, however glittering with gold and fine houses. We should let them feel that they are beneath us—that we will not permit them to associate with men of ordinary honor nor dare to measure themselves as equals—we should make it understood that there is at least some society in which they are disgraced and into which they cannot enter. And as soon as we can make our laws adequate to their technical punishment we should mark them in that way also. I think the private citizen could do much in this way to check such crimes.

It is obvious that the inevitable end of the trust movement arising out of the facilities of share-held capital and stock manipulation—will be to place all our national wealth in the power of a few men screened behind their treasury doors. The age of competition—depending on defective transportation and on which the political economy of Adam Smith was based is passing rapidly away. The small business is everywhere being merged in some universal company. All the railways, all the ships, all the mines, all the necessities, are moving into one general combination here as elsewhere. Will not all the land go the same way in the end through the power and art of the stock manipulator. The advancing system means our ruin as a free people unless we can prevent it. We see the process yearly progressing around us in many forms. Only a few weeks ago, I asked a chief clerk in a merchant shipping office how life was going with him? "I do not like it," he answered. "Since our line was acquired by a great railway system, we are only a department, and our treatment is very different." In a hastily-written and very imperfect pamphlet entitled "Canada a Modern Nation," issued last winter, I tried to outline the dangers of the whole movement in its effects upon and through our land tenure, and to indicate some proposed remedies. But for the moment I will say that we have a very valuable aid in our municipal institutions. This is partly because, as just pointed out, the municipalities go to the sources of legislation as an untrammelled force; but a still better ground of hope in them lies in their possibilities for public ownership. Public ownership, in fact—national and municipal—is the only refuge to which we can look from the evils of monopoly. It is quite true that some communities are not ready for it in certain res-



pects—for to run a business demands business people—and I am also convinced that the proper field of public ownership is limited to natural monopolies; although changing conditions of the world and trade are adding to the cost of these, as in the case of oil and coal mines. I am aware, too, that in some of our mixed communities there are particular dangers of injustice towards union ties. But taking each local case on its merits, public ownership is a vital need of the age in which we are entered, and can and should be extensively resorted to in Canada and the people educated up to it. These conclusions are the same as those of Professor Richard T. Ely, the distinguished American economist, who says in his work "Evolution of Industrial Society":

"The writer has followed this subject, and the trend of opinion with respect to it, for fifteen years with some care. In his own judgment the trend in favor of public ownership is marked and surprising. He has seen one investigator after another start prepossessions in favor of public control of private corporations, and turn away from that position as a hopeless one, and take up a position in favor of public ownership as the only practicable solution under our American conditions. There lies before the writer a letter recently received from an attorney, a member of a well-known firm in one of our great cities. This lawyer has been forced by experience to abandon the position in favor of private ownership. He says, as the result of long continued and self-sacrificing efforts to improve politics in his own city: "The alleged benefits of regulation are practically as impossible as an attempt to regulate the laws of gravitation for our legislative councils are nominated, elected, and controlled by forces too subtle and insidious to be attacked, and even to be known.

. . . . A community cannot regulate against millions of dollars organized to prevent it. This temptation disappears, however, when the municipality becomes the owner.

"The difficulties of public ownership are not to be denied. They lie on the surface. The problem in the case of public ownership is to secure men of talent and experience to conduct these enterprises, and keep them in office during good behavior; to engage men for all positions on the basis of merit, and while retaining vast armies of employees, to enact such legislation and administrative reforms as will prevent employees of the city, engaged in furnishing public utilities, from either using their political power for their own selfish ends or from being used for partisan purposes. This implies, on the part of society, an appreciation of excellence of service and a thorough-going reform of municipal civil service. Politicians of the baser sort and all those who have selfish ends to be gained by political corruption will work against such reform. On the other hand, public ownership with public operation presents the issues in a comparatively simple form. The clarification of issues is, indeed, one of the strong arguments in favor of municipal



ownership. Who knows to what extent employees on the street railways of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Chicago are appointed through the influence of politicians? It is known, however, that many appointments are made through the influence of politicians of precisely the worse sort. It is furthermore known that these corporations are now generally in politics. But because the corporations furnishing these public utilities are owners of private property, and because they conduct a business which is only quasi-public, the political corruption with which they are connected is hidden and obscure, and voters are confused and perplexed. Public ownership carries home to every one the importance of good government, and arrays on the side of good government the strong classes in a community now so often indifferent."

One thing I am anxious to have understood is that the public defence is not a quarrel with ordinary business, and ordinary pursuit of wealth. It is the perversions of these which it is necessary to restrain, in order to protect our people in free use of the rest. The ideal ought to be a free individualistic people, with the altruistic instinct well trained. We should make this country one full of advantages for the man without inordinate wealth. And we should see to it that every future child has a free and full chance in life.

But all these aims, municipal and other, will depend fundamentally on the quality of the individuals we turn out. Solid structures of a stable state or a high class municipality cannot be built of crumbly bricks. The individual vote must be intelligent if the alderman is to be well-chosen; the individual citizens must be honest or they will have dishonest government;—they must be educated or their business will be ignorantly carried on. We must remember the elevation of the citizen as the key of all permanent advance. And to effect this object we must look chiefly to the school, the press and the pulpit. But everything in Canada leads us to hope for ultimate success. Our short history is a record of one progressive movement after another. "Locksley Hall" is in our air :

"Not in vain the distance beckons,
Forward, forward; let us range,
Let the great world spin forever
Down the ringing grooves of change.
Through the shadow of the globe
We sweep into younger day."

Great issues are before this generation of Canadians—issues worthy of the devotion of the most ambitious and intellectual. Why should the pursuit of wealth entirely absorb us when we can perhaps shape destiny and character on the grand scales for unnumbered centuries; when we can hope to mould institutions that may banish some of the miseries of humanity forever; when, taking advantage of this fate-fraught day of



beginning we can perhaps make millions of future hearts vibrate with some chord of happiness, contributed to by our efforts; and when we may cause them to throb in some added largeness of life resulting from the thought and labor and legislation of this time for permanent liberty and justice.

(October, 24, 1904.)

Naval Defence

By J. E. ATKINSON, J. A. COOPER AND W. E. RUNDLE.

[Note.—Shortly subsequent to this discussion, the Canadian Government announced its intention of supporting the naval stations at Halifax and Esquimalt.]

Canada, said Mr. Atkinson, has recently entered on a new era in her relations with the outside world. While still remaining a part of the British Empire she had arrived at a point where her individual growth was something that must be reckoned with. By her acts of the last few years during which she had secured the revocation of the German and Belgian treaties she had attained to the position of a quasi-independent nation in the commerce of the world. Moreover, she had asserted her right to make her own treaties, and there was little doubt that hereafter, she would appoint her own commissioners and make her own treaties subject only to ratification on the part of the British Crown. This being the case, Canada had assumed certain responsibilities. Self-respecting individuals did not shirk their responsibilities and neither should self-respecting nations.

Canada maintains a militia force, but what, asked Mr. Atkinson, was Canada doing for her defence outside? The answer was; nothing at all. Then, what was being done for us. The British navy costs each year for maintenance and additions £35,000,000 and that charge was being met year after year by the people living within the United Kingdom. That meant that the annual cost of the navy was \$4.40 per capita, or estimating on the basis of five to a family, each head of a family within the United Kingdom was paying \$22 a year to the navy. Do we realize that? asked the speaker. In this way is supported the navy behind which our commerce moves securely over the seas, the navy which gives Canadians some of the warrant for the pride we all feel in declaring ourselves British subjects when abroad. And this was the navy for which we do not pay one dollar. The situation cannot continue, and Canada would have to make some contribution in some form or another to Imperial defence.

The cost of the navy to Britain was sometimes regarded in the light of insurance. The nation had a certain value on the seas, for which the navy was the insurance and on this basis the premium was about 2 1-2



per cent. Looking at it in that way Canada's responsibility was clear and there was no escaping the conclusion that Canada should put upon the seas something bearing the Canadian flag that would protect Canadian commerce, of which we have \$250,000,000 worth every year. As a shipping country Canada ranks well. In sea-going tonnage she ranks fourteenth among the nations with 10,500,000 tons. As to registered tonnage, which includes internal shipping, she ranks ninth,—just above Russia. It was sometimes said that Canada's contribution to the Imperial defences lay in her public works. The Canadian Pacific Railway was undoubtedly an advantage to the British Empire. Our very existence was an advantage to it. But Canada did not build the Canadian Pacific Railway for the sake of the Empire and it didn't conduce to our self respect to point to the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Intercolonial and our canals as our contributions to Imperial defence. But even accepting this argument what did that contribution amount to. In 28 years Canada had spent \$250,000,000 on capital account of which \$64,500,000 is bearing interest. In the 28 years we had spent in capital expenditure for canals, the militia, the C. P. R. and the I. C. R., \$190,000,000.

India contributes \$2,500,000 a year to the navy direct; Australia, \$1,000,000; New Zealand, \$250,000; Cape Colony, \$250,000, and Natal and Newfoundland, small amounts.

The question was: How might we make our contribution. The principle of no taxation without representation could not be departed from and the idea of making a contribution direct to the Imperial Treasury was therefore repugnant. Mr. Atkinson suggested that we build warships of our own and man them with our own men and thus establish a Canadian navy that would be as much a part of the Imperial navy as our militia is now reckoned a part of the British land force. Certain direct benefits such as the impetus to shipbuilding would immediately follow and Canadians would be able to carry themselves with more self-respect if they did not have to hide behind the C. P. R. and the Intercolonial when asked what they were doing for Imperial defence.

Mr. J. A. Cooper said it was with a great deal of diffidence he approached a subject that had been decided several times by Col. Denison, Mr. Hopkins and others. It was unfortunate that this day of all days had been chosen for the discussion of this subject. If Canada had a navy to-day and something had happened yesterday such as happened in the North Sea between British fishermen and the Russian navy, there would be trouble to-day. Our navy might be firing shots and perhaps to-morrow we might have no navy. A navy is a dangerous thing, much more dangerous than single tax or trades unionism.

Continuing in an ironical tone, Mr. Cooper declared it would be a disgrace to ask the taxpayers of Canada to bear the burden of supporting a navy. Australia paid a million dollars a year towards the Imperial navy and did Canada not get as much protection as Australia?

Mr. W. E. Rundle, said that with Canada's trade on both the Atlantic and the Pacific growing as it is, the time had arrived when Canadians were not only willing, but desirous, of bearing the burden of defence, no matter what that burden might be. The question was not whether we would make a contribution, but how would we make it. It had been suggested that we make a contribution direct to the admiralty, but Canadians would scarcely be willing to hand over to any government any measure of the responsible Government for which they had fought so hard. Perhaps some day an arrangement might be reached under which we might in return for certain considerations make our contribution to an Imperial Council. What we ought to do would be, after consultation with the British Admiralty, build certain ships and thus lay the foundation for a Canadian navy. Then if in the future, it was found advisable by the Empire to establish an Imperial Council to control the naval expenditures, Canada would have a contribution of ships to make at the start. But, if the Imperial Council was never established, Canada with her own ships would have her own protection.

(October 31, 1904.)

Canada and Great Britain

BY THE RIGHT HON. JOHN MORLEY.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I thank you very warmly for the extraordinary welcome that you have now extended to me. After all you are only repeating the kindness that has been extended to me since I set my foot on Canada, by all sorts of persons of all degrees of importance, and it makes me regret the more that my visit is, as the chairman indicates, a short one. But although it is a short, a fugitive visit, I think that already I perceive the advantage which even that visit has been to me. It has brought names and places that before were only words, into their places as evident realities. It has shed light upon many stirring and I would even say momentous questions affecting your policy and affecting the policy of the mother country, and, gentlemen, I hope, I feel confident that it has been the means of making for me—little deserved as it may be—many new friends. (Applause.) The chairman seemed a little perplexed as to how to use the words, "English," "Scotch," "British," "Irish," "Canadian," and so on. (Laughter.) Now, to a certain extent I claim to be rather international, because I was born in England; I represent the best of the Scotch constituencies, (laughter) and the most active portion of my political life has been so devoted to the affairs of Ire-

land, that I call myself rather an Irishman. (Laughter and applause.) Now, I hope before I go back after my short visit, within three or four months at all events, to have seen three general elections, (laughter and applause) one in Canada, another in the United States, and the third and not altogether the least interesting to me, in my own country. (Laughter.) I have heard, but it may be entirely wrong, that here and across your southern border it is a foregone conclusion. (Laughter.) Without any arrogance or over-confidence I may inform you that the result in the third case is a foregone conclusion also. (Laughter.) With the points at issue upon this continent it would be rather presumptuous and impertinent for me to meddle. I will only make this general observation, that in the present exciting age of the world, where there are new and even startling apparitions of nations among the forces of the world; where there is evident a new distribution of political and economic forces among the nations of the world; you may depend upon it gentlemen, that the choice of rulers, at such a moment, either in Canada or the United States, or in the mother country, may prove to be a very serious departure for good or evil in the policy and persons of those who so embarked.

Now, so far as Canada is concerned, I hope you will let me without offence, say one thing on one point; on a topic which I am sure among yourselves you often debate. You will understand what I am at, when I say, I submit to you that in my own opinion, any policy that withdraws either your attention or diverts you from the development of your resources, from the gigantic and fruitful and beneficent task that lies around you of laying the solid foundation of prosperity in your own land, would be, I submit, a grievously mistaken policy. (Applause.) And depend upon it—like my distinguished host here I have thought of these questions for many years,—and depend upon it, with your own work lying to your hands, to suffer yourselves to be drawn into the entanglements and quarrels of the Old World would indeed be a poor compensation for the loss you would suffer in attention to your own development and your own work. (Applause.)

Surely I am not going too far, not treading on to burning ground,—indeed you were kind enough to ask me to speak, and I will tell you frankly the thoughts that are in my mind. (Applause.) If I were a Canadian I would say that the temperature and the climate, the moral and political climate of this land are the temperature and climate of peace and brotherhood. (Applause.) You know in Great Britain, it is amazing and it is afflicting to think how much of our political controversy and discussion assumes and takes for granted that our climate and temperature and conditions are those of unceasing war, sometimes rather of aggression. You have an enormous advantage here. First of all you have an enormous sovereign duty imposed upon you. You have the advantage of being able to perform that duty, if you choose away from the entanglements that necessarily or otherwise beset the statesmen who are responsible for

Great Britain, and you would indeed be unwise if you let go one shred of that advantage.

Upon preferential trade—you see I do not shirk difficult topics, (laughter)—about preferential trade; I will not pretend in the few moments I ask you to listen, to exhaustively deal with that extraordinarily difficult subject. It is a subject that requires a great deal of thought—a great deal more thought, perhaps, than it has received from those who are responsible for its present position. (Laughter.) I cannot imagine anything more difficult than to trace all the complexities of this subject, but at all events I may remind you gentlemen that a great many years ago I wrote a book about Cobden. And I have kept the faith, and I intend to keep the faith, and I think my country intends to keep the faith. (Laughter and applause.) I think we intend to keep the faith. (Renewed laughter and applause.) I will put one point to you, and one only. Suppose it should be shown, as in my opinion it can easily be shown, that to change the foundations of our fiscal policy would be to impair the accumulation of capital at home. Do you not feel that anything that impairs the accumulation of capital at home would be as deleterious to the interests of the colonies as it would be to the interests of the mother country herself. (Applause.) The cessation of that gigantic accumulation of capital and credit which has made Great Britain what she is, would be just as bad, or even I would say worse for you, than it would be for us. Of course that contention would fall to the ground if anybody would show that we, by changing our policy in its foundation,—the policy that has made us and our credit so strong,—would not impair our accumulation of capital. But that has never been shown and in my opinion it never can be shown.

Now, I go on to the third of the general elections, as to the conditions of which I am better informed than as to either of the other two. It will be a very curious election. I am a man,—I do not know whether my friend and host quite agrees with me,—but I am a man who believes in the party system (laughter),—wait a moment,—providing that it is a two party system and what is no less important, but much more important, that the party system, the two party system, shall represent a real and sincere division of opinion upon the principles upon which the party itself is founded. But if the parties are founded only on artificial and mechanical divisions, then I confess, I should be entirely with him. I am not making any recantations. (Laughter.) But there are dangers in Great Britain and the most serious danger is the weakening and discrediting of Parliament by our breaking it up, as most of the continental chambers have done, into groups instead of having two big parties confronting one another and fighting upon their principles.

Now, you will gather from that remark that my mind will at once turn to Ireland. Since I came to Canada I have been enormously interested

in the position and history of the French Canadians, and I have been struck by the points of resemblance, as well, unhappily, by the points of difference between that case and the case to which I have given so many years of my life; the case of Ireland. And what is my conclusion? It is a feeling, a mournful feeling in my own mind; how different the case of Ireland would have been; how we should have been spared more than a century of torment; what Ireland would have been spared, if the British Government, at the time of the Act of the Union was passed, had pursued the same conciliatory policy in Ireland as the British Government pursued in the year 1760 or 1763 in the case of French Canada. (Applause.)

I barely like,—not being profoundly instructed on all the details—to make another single remark upon that subject, but I would say, it seems to me, that anything that sets up a division in sentiment, in national sentiment, or in action, between two races, either in Canada or anywhere else in the world, is a mischief to mankind. (Applause.) And if I had the honor of being what is called a statesman in Canada (laughter)—if I had the honor of being in Canada what is called a statesman, in Great Britain, (renewed laughter)—I do not think I should find any part of my work, I do not know but I do not believe I should find any part of my work more interesting than trying to do here what I have failed to do elsewhere—to soften any bitter feeling that may remain, make a fusion, and unite in the common effort, in every direction where good for the common land can possibly be achieved. (Applause.)

Just a word on Ireland in relation to the coming election in the mother land. It may be that the Irish members will again, as they have done before, hold the balance, that is to say, that they will be able by the distribution of parliamentary power to decide whether my friends shall come into power or whether our opponents shall remain. Now there are in this room I am certain, profound differences of opinion as to the policy that has been proposed for Ireland—reasonable differences; I for my part never quarreled with anybody—even in the heat of that great controversy eighteen years ago—I never quarreled with anybody because he did not come right around to my newly adopted opinion. But we are all agreed in our desire,—we have a common desire to do full justice, yes, generous justice to Ireland, and we have given a most extraordinary proof of that in the little circumstance that we have undertaken to lend them,—though a few years ago they were called paupers and I know not what else,—we have undertaken to lend them £112,000,000, of good British money. Therefore, it cannot be denied that Great Britain deserves the credit that I have been taking for her of being not only just, but generous to Ireland. (Applause.) This is all I have got to say on that; if it should appear that these Irishmen are in a position to determine for us who our rulers are to be and what their policy shall be, it may be that John Bull will waken up to consider the question whether such a state of things is

really tolerable and he will perhaps apply himself again to a solution of the outstanding national difficulty—the difficulty which is still outstanding and which still confronts us. It is quite absurd; we shall be indulging in a delusion, and you in Toronto who take strong views I have no doubt, on both sides of this controversy,—we shall all be indulging in a delusion, if we think that either by a grant of £112,000,000 of money or by any other steps whatever we shall avert the necessity of dealing in some way; some way honorable; some way reconcilable with the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, I won't say with a solution of difficulty, but the necessity of taking the next step in connection with the Irish difficulty.

Now, this is very polemical. I gather from your silence that you feel I am on polemical ground. I hope I have not shown anything of the polemical spirit. (Cries of no! no!) I question whether I shall have any concern in these affairs or not, but having spent eighteen years more or less in the consideration of the Irish question; having twice undertaken the responsibility for Irish Government,—not entirely a joke (laughter), it is no more a joke when the Nationalists are our friends than when they are our opponents, (renewed laughter),—but having spent so many years on that subject, I hope you will forgive me for giving this subject such a place in my observations, because I am quite sure that by and by, whatever the result of the election there will be manoeuvres, may be from our side or may be, as they have been before, from the other side (laughter), and therefore if I am right, you will perhaps remember one or two things I have taken the liberty of saying to you. One more closing observation and then I will release you. It is commonly said that the Liberals, the British Liberals are indifferent to the colonies. Why, it was the Liberal party, it was their colonial policy;—and I am speaking at least in the presence of one man who knows every detail of that policy—it was their policy of conferring upon the colonies perfect freedom, and exacting from them full responsibility; it was that policy which has kept the colonies firmly united with the mother country; whereas the other policy, or what is called Conservatism, or regarding the colonies contumeliously; the mother country always looking after her children who could not be trusted to walk upon their own feet; that was a policy which would have ended in true ruin. Therefore, if perchance my foregone conclusion should come true I beg of you not to be alarmed. Let me reassure you. I am often called a little Englander. I am entirely and well used to nick-names, and do not mind them, except in so far as they may prejudice or hurt any cause I want to advocate. But it is entirely untrue. The difference between some of us and some of our opponents and some of our friends it may be is at least not a difference in the value we set upon union. It is entirely a difference as to whether that union would be most secure and best preserved by free relations, rather than by artificial and mechanical bonds. (Hear hear.) Rest assured of this. Believe me when I tell you that there is no

monopoly of affection and sympathy for the colonies in either party in Great Britain. (Applause.) Believe me when I tell you that Liberals, are at least, as anxious as Conservatives in the earnestness of their good will, of their friendship, and of their desire to give practical signs of it, when practical signs can be shown to be useful. We are as earnest and our earnestness is as great as that of our opponents. I am extraordinarily glad to have had the honor of meeting you and I am very glad because I see what I do not always see in our meetings of friends at home, that so many of you are young. I do not always see that and it is a matter of regret to me that in Liberal meetings at home very often the audience is mature. (Laughter.) I am sure that you are all mature in judgment and you have plenty of years before you, and will, I am glad to think, revolve these questions, the fringe of which I have just touched. And I shall go away, I am obliged to confess, with a confidence that I did not have a few days ago through want of knowledge—nothing but want of knowledge,—I shall go away with a confidence that the destinies of this country, which is a country, may be safely entrusted to the hands of the people who are living in it and that you will allow no petty, ignoble, or sordid elements to prevent you from accepting that doctrine which was laid down by somebody in the seventeenth century,—“it is part of a man’s religion to see that his country is well governed.” (Applause.)

(November 7, 1904.)

Canadian Banking

By D. M. STEWART, ESQ.

Mr. Chairman,—My first duty is to thank yourself, and through you, the Committee and members of the Canadian Club, for the honor conferred upon me by an invitation to address one of your regular gatherings.

Such meetings as you hold from month to month are, I think, unique in Club history, and while this is the first time it has been my privilege to be present at any of them, I sincerely trust it will not be the last. On the next occasion, however, I look forward to being in the more pleasant position of a listener.

The high order of the addresses delivered under your auspices has made me feel very keenly the responsibility of speaking before the members of this Club, more especially as you have here in your midst some of the ablest exponents of the subject your Committee has allotted to me, that can be found in the Dominion, or indeed anywhere on this continent. Another thing that has weighed heavily upon me is the difficulty of presenting to you anything like a complete synopsis of such

a wide subject as *Banking* in the necessarily short space of time at your disposal. I have, however, as I was in duty bound, done my best, and by confining my remarks to Banking in Canada, I trust I will give greater satisfaction than by addressing you on the subject of banking generally.

But even Canadian Banking is worthy of a much more lengthy discussion, and I can assure you there are many, many phases of it which are interesting and instructive that I must leave untouched to-day.

NOTE CIRCULATION.

As something in which you are all interested, let me first refer to our paper currency. There are two elements absolutely essential to a good paper currency, namely, *safety* and *elasticity*. The Canadian paper currency possesses both. By the Act of Confederation the right to deal with currency and banking was vested solely in the Dominion Parliament, and the first general Bank Act was passed in 1870. It was then decided to limit bank charters to 10 years, so that we have a revision of the Bank Act every decade, the general result of which has been a steady improvement in the legislation governing the Chartered Banks, and the gradual evolution of a banking system, which for safety, convenience and general utility leaves little to be desired to-day. This act deprived the Chartered Banks of the right to issue \$1 and \$2 notes, and the lowest denomination they could issue was then fixed at \$4. The Dominion of Canada assumed the sole function of issuing the smaller denominations. Thus there were two classes of paper currency,—that issued by the Government, and that issued by the Chartered Banks.

In 1880 the right to issue \$4 bills was taken from the Banks and assumed by the Dominion Government, and the lowest denomination to be issued by the Banks was then fixed at \$5 or multiples of \$5, which has been the law ever since.

Before 1880 noteholders and depositors ranked equally as creditors of the Chartered Banks, but in that year a new Act was passed, whereby the note circulation of every Chartered Bank became a first lien on its entire assets. This was a very wise provision and was probably directly due to the failure of the Mechanics' Bank which paid noteholders and depositors only 57 1-2 cents on the dollar. Depositors have a choice of bankers, but anyone may be the innocent holder of a bank note, and the protection of the public against loss in this way has been the guiding principle of every Act since Confederation. Therefore, in 1890, although every bank that failed since the Act of 1881 came into force had paid its noteholders in full, the Government decided to put the safety of the Bank Circulation beyond peradventure for all time. This was done by the formation of a general fund to be availed of in case the total assets of any suspended institution should

be insufficient to pay in full its note circulation. This is known as the "*Bank Circulation Redemption Fund*." It was created by every Bank paying in cash to the Dominion Government, which controls the Fund, a sum equal to 5 per cent. of the maximum amount of its outstanding circulation. This percentage has to be maintained by further cash payments from year to year as a Bank's circulation increases. In this way all the Chartered Banks are responsible for the safety of the notes of any one institution, and to look after their own interests in this respect the Bank Act of 1890 authorized the supervision of the note circulation by the Canadian Bankers' Association. An officer of the Association regularly inspects the circulation books of every Chartered Bank, and certifies to the correctness of its issue. This is apart altogether from the reports and statements sent to the Government at the end of every month.

Each Bank is allowed interest at 3 per cent. per annum on the proportion of the fund at its credit, so that the money is not a dead loss.

On 30th September, 1904, the note circulation of the Chartered Banks was \$63,795,962, against which the total security amounted to over \$800,000,000. I think these figures speak well enough for the *safety* of our paper currency.

The other essential, *elasticity*, means simply its power of adjustment by expansion or contraction to the commercial requirements of the country. That our currency possesses this power is proven every fall during the crop movement when the greatest pressure is brought to bear on it. It passes freely at its face value from one end of the Dominion to the other.

The law of 1890 obliges every Chartered Bank to provide for the redemption of its circulation in gold or legal tender at the Commercial Capital of every Province in Canada. The note circulation is only limited by the paid up capital of the Banks, which at present amounts to \$79,642,783. The circulation amounts to \$63,795,962, so that we have \$15,846,821 available for crop movements or other commercial purposes. The amount required for this annual movement varies, but is probably anywhere from a minimum of \$6,000,000.00 to a maximum of \$12,000,000.00.

As the money is required the Bank circulation expands automatically, and when the grain is exported or otherwise paid for, the circulation contracts. The expansion is caused by making loans and the contraction by paying them back, or returning the circulation in the form of deposits. The movement is so perfect that there is no change in either the discount or deposit rate from one season to another.

So much for the circulation. I could say more, but must pass on.

I might perhaps expose a fallacy that exists in some minds about the great profits the Banks are supposed to make out of lost or destroyed bills. The fact is that the amount of unredeemed bills out-

standing is infinitesimally small. By actual calculation we know that of the issues of \$1 and \$2 bills called in, in 1871, and \$4 bills called in in 1881, there is outstanding to-day less than 1-2 of 1 per cent. The public have had greater banking facilities since then than ever existed before and carry less money about with them in the shape of bank notes, and I venture to say that not more than 1-10 of 1 per cent. of the Bank Circulation remains unredeemed.

Somehow or other a man manages to save his money in time of fire or flood no matter what else he may lose.

BUSINESS AND POWERS OF A BANK.

I cannot do more than mention a very few of the other facts relating to Canadian Banking. Any of you can start a bank. All it requires is \$500,000.00 of bona fide subscribed capital. You must have at least half of this paid up and placed in the hands of the Government temporarily as a guarantee of your financial stability.

The par value of Bank Stock used to vary according to the ideas of the Board, but the Act of 1890 fixed the par value of all Bank Stock issued thereafter at \$100 per share.

A Bank Director must hold a certain amount of fully paid up stock, according to the capital. When the capital is \$1,000,000.00 the minimum number of shares held by a Director is 30, or \$3,000, par value.

Dividends on Bank Stock *must* be paid out of profits and cannot exceed 8 per cent until the Reserve Fund is at least 30 per cent of the Capital. In the early days the criterion of a Bank's success was the amount of its annual dividend, the building up of a Reserve Fund being relegated to a secondary place, while the establishment of a private fund or contingent account does not seem to have ever occurred to some of the old time Bankers.

The Banker who wishes to make a real success of his institution to-day must make safety and stability his first consideration, and the payment of regular, *permanent* dividends a certainty rather than paying out all his profits in good times and letting the future take care of itself.

One would think there was no limit to the powers of a Banker judging by the extraordinary requests that are sometimes made of him. But there are some things a Chartered Bank cannot do. It cannot legally lend money on its own stock, or the Stock of any other Bank. This does not imply that Bank Stocks are poor security, but it is a very wise provision, as it prevents trafficking in such Stock, and eliminates the danger of watering a Bank's Stock.

A Bank cannot lend money on mortgages or real estate security although it may take a mortgage for an existing debt. Neither can a Bank invest in land or buildings except for premises for its own use.

Every business man will appreciate the desirability of keeping as small a proportion as possible of his capital in fixed assets, and it is an excellent provision that prevents the Banks from locking up a lot of money in bricks and mortar, especially when their demand deposits are heavy. This is a restriction which I think should be imposed on *every concern authorized to take deposits* from the people. Inability to realize on its mortgages and real estate assets has been the cause of failure in the case of Loan Companies and Private Bankers.

There are 34 Chartered Banks in Canada to-day, with a total deposits of \$485,308,474, as compared with \$33,000,000 at Confederation, while the circulation has grown from \$10,700,000 in 1867 to \$63,700,000 to-day. These figures show the enormous development of the general business of this country, and the ability of the Banks to conduct that portion of it entrusted to them.

And, gentlemen, there is room for further banking development. He is ignorant of the potentialities of this magnificent Dominion who makes the assertion that there is not room for any more banks. He might as well say there is no room for another wholesale house. The fact is, that there is room in Canada for any legitimate business where energy, ability and enterprise are given scope. But there is no more room for a Bank than there is for a merchant who is not prepared to adopt modern methods and up-to-date ideas. Banking is a high and honorable profession, calling for the exercise of skill and technical knowledge of no mean order, but it is not on a higher plane than those other mercantile pursuits where only the exercise of similar talents can achieve success.

There is one point in connection with new Banks that, so far as I am aware, has never before been given public notice.

Under the present Act all new Bank Stock must be issued to the existing shareholders, and only in case they don't take it up, can it be offered to the public. This is the one and only weak feature I see in our Banking law. Every time an existing shareholder increases his holdings, he decreases to that extent his ability to take care of his "double liability." It is no doubt a fine thing for bank shareholders to have the certainty of securing fresh issues of capital without competition, but I do think this feature is not in the general interest of the public. It is not good for the Banks themselves either, as it prevents them from enlarging their proprietorship and confines them to the same list of shareholders just as long as the latter live. As Bank Stock is usually issued pro rata, you will see that the largest shareholders get the largest allotment, whereas the widest possible distribution of shares per head is the safest policy for both the Banks and the public.

Banking is probably better understood and more thoroughly availed of by Canadians than by the people of any other country in the world. This is a tribute not only to their enlightenment, but the stability of our Banking institutions and the service they render. Our present Banking system is unquestionably capable of supplying the financial requirements of our country, and will be found to keep pace with the enormous commercial development that is bound to make Canada within the next generation one of the greatest financial powers in the world.

(November 14, 1904.)

The Party System of Government

BY PROF. ADAM SHORTT.

"The party system is a permanent thing. It cannot be regarded as a temporary evil and should be treated in a serious way," said Prof. Shortt.

It had become an institution in the Anglo-Saxon world generally and having grown up naturally had gradually changed in its historic development. The system no longer implied that each party was divided in principles or should have a separate programme differing from that of the other. Now, it was a question of administration rather than of platform. The radical issues that had once divided the parties during their rise no longer existed. He thought this came about by the acceptance of democracy as permanently established, and there were now no great questions such as had been raised under earlier forms of government. All parties having accepted democracy, the question now was how best to carry out democratic rule. The party leaders consequently kept their ears to the ground, in an endeavor to interpret the public spirit and public idea, and give, at the worst, a service that would be tolerated.

In our practical politics the opposition had a very important function to serve. It shaped public legislation in only a less degree than the Government itself. This was recognized in the United States on the statute books, in elections, in nominations, and in filling public offices. Committees in charge of legislation were formed of three members, two representing the administration, and one the opposition.

The miscellaneous abuse of one party by another was a great mistake. It led to disgust with politics on the part of fair-minded and conscientious people, who abandoned politics, abdicated not only their privileges but their responsibilities. The more the respectable people held aloof the more they placed the party leaders in the hands of the

worst elements. Instead of a compliment it should be a condemnation of any man to say that he stands apart from politics. Lack of rational criticism encouraged this state of affairs. It was not necessary to become hysterical or to abuse persons, but merely calmly to present the facts to carry conviction. A man throws up his case practically when he loses his temper and abuses his opponent. When both lose their temper no one is longer interested.

There should be a recognition of the fact that responsible government depends on both parties, the system keeping the officials bound together so that they were responsible for each other. He thought that certain offices should be filled by members of the opposition. The holding of offices was all that distinguished the parties, and the offices should not all go to one side.

It was all important to recognize that it was time for a reform in the relation of the parties, and an improved tone in political circles. As an illustration of the debasement of a necessary occupation the speaker adduced the case of money lending, which, through adverse criticism in the middle ages, had sunk into the lowest ranks of society. Gradually there had come a change, and from its once despised position it had risen until to-day the Bankers had one of the most honored and respectable callings in the world. Politics could be advanced likewise, and it was the duty of citizens to do what they could to hasten this end. Politicians met in the same churches, and in the same societies, and did not really believe the hard things they said of each other in public life. When abroad or contrasting their own city with another, or their own country with another, they always considered and spoke of their party opponents as good fellows. The party system having come to stay, they should seek the best means to make it respectable.

(November 21, 1905.)

Politics in Ontario

BY DR. W. H. DRUMMOND.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—You have been good enough to invite me here this afternoon to spend among you a short period of sweet converse, and at the same time allay the gastronomical uneasiness which naturally affects a visitor from the wilds of Quebec, after wandering for hours through your beautiful streets on a November morning.

You know that I am a quiet, and, I hope, unobtrusive practitioner of medicine, and it is seldom that I venture far from the professional nest, yet there are times when I take a brief respite from the cares of

office and endeavor to study outside of the regular routine to which medical men are condemned. This is one of those times—and I trust that nothing I say at this gathering may offend politically or otherwise the sensibilities of even one man present. During the political cataclysms which occasionally disturb our beloved country many facts genuine and so-called, are presented to the free and independent electorate; discoveries never dreamed of before, from time to time rise to the surface, and from time to time sink to rise no more, but to the close student of political history there is one fact above all others that fixes his attention, and demands his unqualified admiration: namely, the wonderful vigor and vitality of the men of Ontario, for if there is a single characteristic about the men of this richly endowed province that calls for special recognition, it is their vigorous grasp of things, their power to hold on to objects dear to them.

True, the birth rate of Ontario is not remarkable, that is, it does not even exceed the modest birth rate of my own Province of Quebec, but the male inhabitants of Ontario have, it seems to me, one quality far surpassing anything of the kind in the sister province, and which is simply phenomenal, namely, the power, as I said before, of "hanging on" to objects sacred to them.

Judging by political history, the son of Ontario who reaches the years of maturity, and the right to a vote, never dies. Once his name has been enrolled upon the glorious roster of his country, his name, if not his fame, is undying. He may pass from this earth, and the place that once knew him, know him no more for months or even years at a time—there he lies, the noble son of Ontario, perchance in some foreign land where instead of the butternut of his native homestead, the gloomy cypress guards his lonely grave, but though the dread trumpet remain unblown, yet one blast of the old familiar party horn summons him to the same old polling booth.

"Ontario mon pays, mes amours," is the slogan which calls him to the combat. His ashes may have been scattered to the winds, or his body have become food for worms, but his vote goes marching on, and his resurrection is sure as election day. And this, my friends, is not a tribute to him alone, but to the living, energetic politicians of Ontario, who bring to the polls every voter dead or alive. I have heard, and there may linger, too, in the memory traditions of a poll in a certain town of Western Ontario, where out of a living possibility of eighty, one hundred and twenty polled their vote on election day.

What an inspiring, yet pathetic scene it must have been! The men of to-day and the men of yesterday side by side! Imagine the feelings of the oldest inhabitant as he saw gathered around him the shades of friends long departed. To many eyes those spirits were perchance invisible (spirits generally are invisible on election day) but to use a slang expression "they get there just the same." If these spirits

of the departed voters were not apparent to the mortal eye, they made their presence felt through the sign of the cross, or rather an X and perhaps this X was symbolical of the reason for returning to earth, and if they did not rap the table as some spirits do, well somebody's candidate was, to dip once more into the realm of slang, "knocked on the head," which result proved just as good or bad, according to the point of view. Sometimes I understand the spirits do not always return. Their graves may be distant, or they may have spiritual reasons for disliking the district in which they were wont to register their vote—they say, too, that the dead do not rise in Lake Superior but in such a case, Ontario can always depend upon self-sacrificing sons among the living, and so we behold them putting off to sea in stormy weather, risking life and meals on a great fresh water ocean, ready to fill the ranks in place of those who have quit this terrestrial sphere. It is such scenes as those that show the vigor which fills the blood of Ontario's sons, and also demonstrate the value they place upon the right of every free man to vote, first for himself and after that to see that nothing is wasted, dead or alive, for in the immortal, tho' unknown bard:

"If traitor hand be on thy throat,
Ontario! Ontario!
Thy silent host must rise and vote,
Ontario! Ontario!

Though scattered far our bones may be,
On alien shore, or 'neath the sea,
One blast upon the horn, and we
Shall gladly rise and come to thee,
Ontario! Ontario!

Down in my own Province of Quebec we are not quite so vigorous, we living ones, and as for our dead they are generally quiet—perhaps they were glad to get away and had had enough of our politics when in this world. For my own part as a medical man, I would not desire to resurrect even one individual voter, nay, I prefer that they remain wherever they may be, as possibly some of them might harbour a grudge against me which would be difficult to settle satisfactorily. I remember, however, one case in Montreal where dead voters came to life for a period long enough to cast their ballots. It was in a fight for the mayoralty and occurred some years ago, and you must remember that in Montreal municipal elections, we have little or no party politics—in this case there was a strong move on the part of a portion of our citizens to oust from the mayor's chair a certain Jean Louis Beaudry who had occupied the seat much longer than some of us considered proper, and the young men especially, went into it with a will. The op-

posite candidate was Henri Beaugrand. In the up-town portion of the city which is largely English-speaking, Beaugrand was very popular and everything was done to roll up a majority for Beaugrand. Beaudry had in the principal booth of this district, a certain well known Irish contractor, who practically knew every living voter in the neighborhood. Beaugrand's representative was a popular and bright young lawyer. Towards noon, votes were coming in slowly, and our legal friend, knowing that his friends had some desirable votes to poll, which might be objected to by the keen-eyed Irishman, managed to persuade that gentleman to desert the booth in order to partake of a much needed lunch. The taking of that lunch was prolonged in one way and another, until a couple of hours had slipped by, and during this period a "boom" struck the polling booth. When the lawyer and his friend returned to the place of balloting, the Irishman casually asked the returning officer if any votes had been cast during his absence and that worthy answered "Yes, a few," and passed over a long list. Putting on his glasses the Beaudry representative went over the names which brought to his astonished eyes visions of old Montreal and her founders; men who had disappeared from mortal ken many years before; half forgotten friends, well remembered enemies, all were there. "John Dwyer," said he, "I never heard a word of John, only that he's dead since he went to Pittsburg fourteen years ago. George Blinkinsop? we buried him in '54. Michael Cassidy! Glory be to God! and he's here too. The biggest funeral we ever had in Griffin Town. Denis Mulhearn? The poor boy was kilt the night St. Patrick's Hall fell in. Well! well! well! this is great work!" and turning to the young lawyer after carefully removing his spectacles, he ejaculated, in a most impressive manner. "Fore God, Bob, I never thought I'd live to see the resurrection."

Now, gentlemen, these which may be considered rather flippant references to very grave faults, should serve to teach us that if the dead are capable of such wonderful energy, what may the living do? And that if we apply the same degree of vigor irrespective of party, to bettering conditions, to bringing out the healthy, honest vote of the country, to choking the dishonest voter, and the loathsome corrupt heeler, and keeping the dead where they belong, we can put into our municipal, provincial, and federal elections, a healthful cleanliness that cannot but conduce to the national good. You have the vigor, the energy, and the knowledge, to some extent, that such things as I have referred to exist, and we know that voters of the kind I have spoken of are not productive of good to any party, or of our country, so let us one and all without question of party, hand in hand, set vigorously to work, to wipe out the heelers, the pluggers and grave robbers, and give to ourselves clean politics and clean elections.

(November 28, 1904.)

The Higher Hay-Forkism of Canada

BY A. T. HUNTER.

In a moment of weakness on Saturday morning I was surprised by a representative of your formidable Association into consenting to give a short talk on some subject of interest to myself. The shortness of the time and a lack of familiarity with some branches of the matter have prevented my putting before you one of those consistent and systematic essays which are necessary before the public can decide that a subject is a matter of present importance. Your Club is representative of the public and ideas that are crudely or prematurely or inopportunistically presented to the popular ear are apt to jar on that peculiar sense of proportion which gives their relative lengths to the columns in the press, relating to war, science, religion and hockey. I must, however, assure you that the disconnection and disproportion in what I shall say pertain rather to the form than the substance. I never was more certain of an idea or less satisfied with my ability to express it; and I have taken the trouble to make this lengthy introduction because of an apprehension that what I say will be despised as mere academic truth or discredited as mere humor.

The subject chosen to-day is a branch of the great American science of Applied Altruism. Altruism itself is a somewhat modern word meaning unselfishness and used by abstract philosophers to mark the progress of later decades of the 20th century. But Applied Altruism of the American type is not very modern. One very well known variety of it is the unselfish legislating for others, with the object of improving their morals without inconvenience to ourselves. This practice is at least as old as Hudibras and its irreverent couplet:

"Compound for sins they are inclined to
By damning those they have no mind to."

The persistence of this practice in America, leading to the enactment of scores of laws that the legislators have no intention of obeying themselves or even of troubling themselves, as the saying is, "to make a bluff" at enforcing. The persistence, I say, of this practice has led the Mayor of Chicago, Mr. Carter Harrison, to term it "Four Flushing," a word of obscure derivation, perhaps having something to do with hydraulics. We have occasional examples of "Four Flushing" in Canada as when a whole solemn Parliament passes an anti-cigarette resolution and then laughs.

Far be it from me to hint that many sounding clauses and truculent resolutions on the subject of temperance legislation are merely evidences

of Hudibrastic brotherliness. Time presses and I must approach my real idea. Briefly then, there is no form of Applied Altruism which can conveniently be classified as "Hay-forkism."

You will remember that the essence of nearly all the Hay-Fork transactions of ill repute was that some farmer was induced to enter into a contract, not so much on the strength of the direct arguments used by the agent as by the artful suggestion of a scheme by which the poor victim was to skin his fellow-man. It was in stretching forth his honest hand to nail his neighbours pelt to the barn door that the poor farmer incidentally signed something. And they delivered hay forks to him in abundance; as also to his neighbor who had been intending to do a little neighborly taxidermy on his own account,—and so on until the third and fourth concession of them that toil in the field.

Hay-forkism, then, is that application of the golden rule by which you do unto others as you would have them believe they can do unto somebody else. A very common and vulgar manifestation of Hay-forkism is the "green goods" game, whereby would be Napoleons of Finance exchanging good money for counterfeit become possessed of neatly folded packages of blank paper. This type of bitten-biter will disappear in the long course of the ages. It has been suggested that the green-goods game can be immediately abolished by printing the bills in red ink on blue paper. But genuine Hay-forkism is eternal.

Let us now deal with the higher Hay-forkism, meaning thereby those more systematic and recognized forms which are encouraged by our laws and usages. Anything that brings contact with police and juries is low and elementary. The Higher Hay-forkism is that which cannot be reached by the calloused hand of the constable. Just as there is the Higher Finance which gives immunity to the genius of Standard Oil, so there is a Higher Hay-forkism that protects its votaries. Nearly all trades and professions either deal in this commodity or suffer by it. The clergy suffer by it as long as they stay by their profession; when they break out into the business world they get even. The most unsettled profession in this respect is that of the brokers. Stock speculation is intrinsically Hay-forkism. But as our intended victims are impersonal, our purchased shares imaginary and our profits unaccompanied by letters of protest, the wickedness does not come home to us until we are wiped off. A losing bet is a mortal sin, and we repent and become regenerated. A good many pious men in this Province would like to do something to the brokers, but would hate to go into the box and testify. They have been Hay-forked, but dare not squeal. Accordingly the broker is still entitled to write H. H., Higher Hay-forker, after his name. The only profession that dispenses with this practice is that of the plumbers; they neither give mercy nor hold out hope. If you don't like their little ways you can go back to the farm; they own the city.

But let me now come to my own profession, than which during all ages there has been no more indispensable and formidable body of men,—

indispensable because they refuse to be dispensed with and formidable on account of their influence on every law passed, amended or repealed, on every charter issued, on every foot of land deeded and on every contract entered between man and man. Would it be within the range of possibility to accuse a body of men so learned, so eloquent, so respectable, of practising the Higher Forkism in Canada. Let us examine the facts. We derive our laws and the externals of our legal profession from old England.

In England they have barristers and solicitors as very distinct vessels of righteousness. In Ontario we also have the barrister and the solicitor, but one is usually inside the other,—the combination we will say, makes the practitioner if he has any practice, and the lawyer if he knows any law. The word "client" is of extreme antiquity—was an old word when M. T. Cicero practiced law. In Rome, as in England and Canada, until very recently, at any rate, the remuneration of a counsel was considered as a voluntary donation—what Henry VII would call a "benevolence." Accordingly Cicero became quite well-to-do, as have also a few lawyers since his day.

So much for counsel fees. But solicitor's costs, as we understand them, seem to be purely Britannic growth, and have been cherished by wise statesmen as a safeguard against the accumulation of great estates. Let us now come to that branch of costs which entitles the lawyer to be elected the Dean of the Higher Hay-forkism. I refer to "party and party costs." There is no more beautiful doctrine than that justice is free and that the courts of law, equity and revision are open to the poorest in the land. While the good citizen who has occasion to go to the courts and obtain a declaration of his rights is contemplating the beauty of this doctrine the Higher Hay-Forkism nudges his elbow and says in his ear: "Your case is a good one; you are in the right, why should you be put to expense? Justice should be free; the other fellow is in the wrong and should pay your costs." Thus it is that the litigant having right on his side (as all litigants have in their own opinion), puts his seal of approval on the practise of "party and party costs,"—"Make the other party pay them."

Gentlemen, this is all Hay-forkism. Some of the American States, have had a lucid interval and made an end of this peculiar institution of party and party costs. But the soil where it flourishes and blossoms with more than its pristine loveliness is just here in this Province of Ontario. We Canadians are a marvellous people for completeness of legislative organization, and the only system on earth that discounts our quantity of parliamentary machinery in proportion to our population is our system of judicial machinery. An unbiased stranger would find us in possession of a lot of small courts such as those presided over by Magistrates and County Judges to relieve the higher courts of the less important cases. And when in addition to these he found that we hold sittings of Courts

of Assize and Divisional Courts and a Court of Appeal, he would think us fairly well provided with the means of grace. But, of course, just as every feudal lord used to set up his own mint and his own gallows, every legislative jurisdiction must have its own court and the result is,—there being a Parliament in England, we have there a court called the Privy Council—and on the way thither as there is a parliament at Ottawa, we have a Supreme Court at Ottawa where the opinions of English Judges on French Law may be neatly balanced by the opinions of the French Judges on English Law.

There has been some recent legislative curtailment of the privilege of appeal, but there are still costs enough and appeals enough to satisfy the most foolish.

In addition to this you will please remember that it is now a physical and mechanical impossibility to be sure of your law. Lord Mansfield said "God forbid that I should know all the Law; but I know where to find the Law." He had only to keep track of the decisions of Judges in England and he died in 1793. An up-to-date lawyer in Ontario has merely to keep track of all the decisions in England and in all the British colonies and in all the United States. He sometimes is liable to err in his opinions.

Amid this opulence of courts and of law, let us now consider the practical working of the Hay-fork scheme of making the other fellow pay your costs. Take the case of two well-to-do and high spirited citizens of one of our country towns, who, being unable to agree, have recourse to the courts to settle the matter in dispute. Each of them has a local lawyer, a man of gravity when in his native town and who in a painstaking and conscientious way gets his case ready for trial. About two weeks before the trial one of the litigants gets what are known as "cold feet." He bowled into his lawyer's office and breaks a piece of news to him. He says "I am told that if I lose this case I shall have to pay the other fellows' costs, too," &c., &c.

The conversation results in the lawyer naming over to him two or three leading counsel in Toronto or elsewhere and he selects one. It isn't long before the other litigant hears about it; and, having satisfied himself that he shall have to pay in case of defeat his opponent's costs, including the cost of the big counsel, he also gets provided with a big counsel. Of course at the trial one side loses. If it were merely the original amount in dispute the case would likely end at this point, but the costs prevent the loser from leaving it there. He is "blowed" or something worse, if he is going to give that fellow the satisfaction of paying his costs, so he appeals and thus the work goes merrily on from court to court up to the Privy Council. The lawyers retained on each side become of larger calibre and higher priced as the case proceeds until the poor tired cost-ridden jackasses of litigants are dragging a waggon that is heavier than the hay they were originally fighting about.— If some con-

scientious statistician were to draw up a detailed statement of all the cases of litigation that went to the Supreme Court and Privy Council, showing the relative importance in dollars and cents of the amounts recovered for damages and the amounts taxed for costs, and were to ascertain in each case the real reason for appeal,—which is costs,—the law of “party and party costs” would not survive a month.

However, there is no danger of this long established and eminently respectable form of the Higher Hay-forkism ever being disturbed by the Legislature. When there is any talk of reform in legal procedure the sapient law-makers always take the opinion of some of the leading members of the bar. Which is as if you asked the views of a distiller on prohibition. These learned gentlemen of the robe can always find unanswerable reason for maintaining a profitable custom. For instance, if a man wants to make a bargain with his lawyer as to what a suit will cost, the present law rather discountenances such a bargain. If you have an architect he will state his percentage and has to get even by building you a house for \$15,000 that you expected to get for \$5,000. If you have a doctor to cure you for a certain sum his only way out is to kill you instead. But if the Legislature were to ask a great man of the legal profession “Why not hire a lawyer on a definite bargain,” he would warn the members of the dangers of “Champerty and Maintenance,” and while they were out hunting up the meaning of these words the lawyers in the House would have defeated the amendment. Some day the hay-forked public will get sense and say to itself, “Marriages are made in Heaven but still I pay the Parson for the splicing. I am entitled to perfect health, but still I expect to pay my doctor if I cannot dead-head it on the lodge. Finally, I am entitled to justice free but I had better pay my own lawyer. I never yet got any good thing for nothing and when I do I don’t expect to get it in a law office.” And in that day the leading counsel shall feel want and be willing to go on the bench at a slight increase over the present salaries.

(December 12, 1904.)

Anglo-American Diplomacy

By A. H. U. COLQUHOUN.

The attitude of Canada towards Anglo-American diplomacy during the past century has necessarily been determined by the circumstances of each case. There is nothing in constitutional usage to fix exactly the framing of treaties in which colonies have a direct interest. As a consequence, on those occasions when we consider our interests to have been sacrificed we have not been slow to make our opposition known, and on

the rare occasions when we have been awarded a reasonable instalment of justice we have permitted ourselves a fleeting moment of melancholy satisfaction.

It seems inevitable that whatever our attitude towards Anglo-American diplomacy may have been in the past, we must agitate for some change in the negotiation of treaties in which we are concerned, because the history of treaty making is full of instances where, largely from ignorance, but sometimes from political necessity, Canadian interests have been sacrificed. To the modern ear the word "colony" implies a condition of political inferiority and although colonies in the early times, such as those of the Greeks on the Mediterranean shores, were free and independent of the parent state, colonialism cannot be considered a permanent status in the modern world. In fact, the position of the self-governing colonies of the British Empire has no parallel in history, and in the matter of their treaty making interests an improvement in the constitutional machinery may be anticipated.

The treaty of peace of 1783 was entrusted by the British authorities to persons totally unfitted for the work. It is the opinion of some people that the talents which succeed in diplomacy are derived from a careful study of Machiavelli and a disregard of the cardinal virtues of truth and honesty. This description does not fit any of the British negotiators. They were men of honor, but they lacked wisdom and knowledge. In 1783, Richard Oswald, the Boston merchant, who was sent by Lord Shelburne to Paris to decide the fate of the British Empire in North America was not qualified by experience or temperament for the task. The policy pursued on that occasion was to give the United States everything they asked for and from the conditions thus set up we have not yet recovered. For twenty years after the peace the British representatives sent to Washington had an unpleasant time. The young republic thought the proper way to deal with the British Minister was to be as rude as possible, and if the experiences of Hammond, Liston, Merry, Jackson, Rose and Foster were to be related by some modern writer who told the whole truth with some vividness and power, the masters of romance would have to go out of business. Sir Henry Bulwer claimed that the success of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was due to the fact that he used words in the sense in which the Americans used them, and this treaty remained in force for half a century until it was offered up recently on the altar of the Anglo-Saxon alliance. Whatever fate these British Ministers at Washington between 1791 and 1820 met with, it is but just to the United States to say that, whether they happened to be recalled or sent home or merely worried into resigning, they were permitted in every case to die a natural death.

In due course Canada entered on the scene. The treaty of 1854, negotiated by Lord Elgin and Sir Francis Hincks, was the first in which the negotiators on the British side had the requisite knowledge of Canada. Lord Elgin exercised all his skill to obtain a reciprocity treaty and secur-

ed a majority of the members of the United States Senate in its favor, despite the pessimistic view of Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State.

There appears to be one temptation which democracy cannot resist and that is to be slapped on the shoulder by a real live English lord, and when Lord Elgin courted Washington society with all the arts of a man of the world the Democratic Senators succumbed to his blandishments and actually passed an equitable treaty. It is sometimes said that the treaty was floated through on champagne. That statement is based on a casual remark in a letter from Lord Elgin's secretary, in which he said that champagne in the hands of a skilful diplomat was not without its uses.

In respect to the efforts made since 1866 to secure a renewal of reciprocity, the repeated trips to Washington were made by men of both parties under the impression that Canada could not exist without the American market. These repeated attempts to secure a renewal or revival of the Elgin Treaty must always be a source of humiliation to this country. The idea that we are absolutely dependent for existence on the United States seems to have seized hold of our public men; it appears to have been the common idea after the abrogation of that treaty that at all hazards we must obtain a renewal of its provisions.

The Halifax award of 1877 was the single triumph we have had from Anglo-American diplomacy and the payment of the five and a half millions of money allowed us in that case for the use of the Atlantic inshore fisheries was largely due to the humorous and tactful references which Lord Dufferin made to the possibility of its payment when speaking in Montreal after his return from a visit to the States.

The last occasion on which Canadian interests were endangered was in the Alaskan boundary dispute regarding which the Canadian Club has heard one of the arbitrators, Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, K.C. Many of the highest authorities have declared that the decision was exceedingly satisfactory, that Canada had done well, and might have done worse. When they take that stand, who am I to raise any doubts and disturb the peace of a happy community? Mr. Goldwin Smith has said that if Lord Shelburne's policy in 1783 had been carried out and Nova Scotia and Canada had been given to the United States we would have avoided a long list of trouble—we would not have heard of the War of 1812, the Trent affair, the fisheries dispute and the Alaska boundary trouble. Now, that is primarily true. If we had parted with the whole instead of only a large part of our undoubted rights in 1783, these things would have been avoided, but that is not our idea of obtaining a lasting and an honorable settlement. You can always obtain a kind of peace by handing over all your property to your antagonist and promising not to venture into his neighborhood again, but we cannot be expected to grow enthusiastic over terms which resemble those imposed on a conquered country. We say, instead, that there ought to be some change in the

machinery by which treaties are negotiated. This matter affects the highest interests of Canada. While some of us may be Imperialistic, we must consider it primarily from the standpoint of Canada. I respect the man who hopes we shall some day be a nation, though I am not myself in favor of putting the British Constitution in the melting pot. I think we can work out treaty-making machinery by a happy mean between Imperial Federation and complete severance. I cannot believe that Canada will break away from all we have inherited from the past. It is not alone the military and naval prowess of England of which we have reason to be proud, but the fact that for a thousand years she has stood for true liberty. These are things we cannot lightly part with. While the self-governing rights of Canada should be impaired, still we must feel that there is an absolute equality among all the subjects of the King, that our political and material rights are not subordinate to those of some other portion of the Empire, and I have no doubt we shall ultimately evolve some solution of the matter of treaties.

(December 29, 1904.)

Anglo-Canadian and American Relations

BY DR. WILLIAM OSLER.

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Countrymen,—It gives me the very greatest pleasure to be here with you to-day. It always is a great satisfaction to me to return to my old town where I received my early education and where I have so many friends; the town too, to which the family to which I belong, owes so much. And I am especially delighted to be here with a gathering of young Canadians, for it is after all with the youth of a country that the future of that country rests. And I was very glad indeed when the chairman, a few moments ago, told me that no member was admitted to this Club over 40 years of age. (Laughter.) It has never before been my privilege to belong to a Club with so satisfactory a regulation. For believe me, we have too many old men knocking about doing active work. No man should be at work over 40 years of age. (Laughter.) No man. The work of the world is done by men under 40. What does a fellow do after he reaches the age of 40? He preys on the brains of young men and plagiarizes on his former work. There was a first rate rule in the old Roman Empire. No man over 60 allowed to go over the bridge to the Senate. They were what was called "depon ati," and it was an excellent rule. I would like to see it adopted politically in this country. (Laughter.) Don't put that down, reporters, or I will get into trouble.

I would like to speak to you to-day on the triple relationship which we Canadians hold; first as to the great republic to the south of us, second as to the mother country and third as to our own land. Now it may be fortunate or it may be unfortunate that we are so situated in our Dominion, that we have to the south of us one of the largest and most powerful nations on the earth. As British we should feel proud of it. For was there ever a nation, ancient or modern, which had such a child? (Applause.) Never! and it is not likely that any nation to come will ever have an offspring of such a size and of the same sort. But it is for us here as Canadians, a very serious and important influence. It is the influence of gravitation; the influence of the large body upon the small, and the incessant dribbling of young men over the border. I am told that there are to-day in the United States nearly one million Canadians. That may be an exaggerated estimate. I do not know that the estimate has ever been accurately and carefully made. But at any rate we do know that throughout the length and breadth of the United States Canadians occupy prominent positions in finance and in the professions and more particularly, I may say, in the medical and theological professions. There they have been successful by reason of two special qualities,—industry and thoroughness—the only two qualities worth anything in the makeup of a good man. (Hear! hear!) Now if it was only a matter of drawing away the young men, we would not mind a bit, because after all it does not make so much difference, for we have plenty of young men here to run our own country. But what is most serious is the loss to this country of the young women. I was told by a young man a few months ago who was neurasthenic and unsettled and of whom I asked why do you not get married, that he lived in a nice little town in Western Ontario and that all the girls that he wanted to marry had gone to the United States. I have the figures of six of the largest hospitals on the Atlantic Coast and of the 651 women in the nursing departments 196 are Canadians, which is an enormous proportion, nearly one-third. Now, I have thought that something should be done to stop this incessant loss of the women of this country. I would have introduced at the next session of Parliament a tax upon bachelors. (Laughter). Every man who has not at 25 or 26 a family to support ought to be helping the other fellows by paying a good, big tax. (Laughter.) This would be, I think, a very reasonable and rational political measure. And secondly, I would have an export tax of \$100 on every Canadian girl who left this country for the United States. She is worth a great deal more and it would be worth while for this country to pay the family \$1,000 to keep her here. That is the first of a few suggestions that I will make to the politicians among you.

When one considers how well Canadians are treated in the United States; how we are taken into the family there and no questions are asked—not once does the question come up “where do you come from?” but always the question is “what can you do?” (Applause.) And that has

impressed itself upon all of us throughout the length and breadth of that country—the extraordinary kindness of feeling with which Americans receive us. We go frequently over there as foreigners. We are not received as foreigners, but are taken at once into the family and are treated in the best possible way, and believe me, not once does the suggestion come up in a matter of appointments, “Oh! he comes from across the border; do not vote for him,” Now, we can take a lesson from that, for too often I have heard and seen expressed in the newspapers a carping spirit towards the Americans. You should bear in mind that your fellow countrymen are living over there and are treated in a way which certainly should make you who live at home remember that whatever feelings you may entertain towards the United States as a nation, it ill becomes you to speak in any way at all derogatory of its people among whom we live as brothers and could not be treated any better if we lived at home. (Applause.) So that I shall urge upon all Canadians that when you think of the Revolutionary War and all the troubles and fights against the mother country, that you should remember also how much it did for the mother country and for us in sending us over the U. E. Loyalists. This country would not be what it is without these men, so we are in deep debt to the American Colonies. And if you think of the Fenian Raid and the worry it cost us, think of the silent raid that has been going on, on the part of Canadians into America ever since that time, and keep your mouth stopped with a bridle. When you think of the Alabama claims and the nuisance and distress it gave us without compensation, think of the compensation that thousands of Americans bring over here every summer in the shape of money when they come to our watering places and to their favorite summer resorts. If you think of the trouble of the Alaskan boundary do not forget that the thousands of acres between it and the American border are being largely taken up by American citizens. So that on all counts I think that Canadians should remember that it ill becomes them to occupy an antagonistic attitude in the newspapers or in public or in private against our American brethren, among whom so many of us live in such harmony and so closely and so comfortably.

The British relationship of this country is a very delicate problem. A great many miles separate this country from the mother country, and the tie when you come down to it, after all, is only a tie of sentiment. We say only a tie of sentiment, but after all there is no stronger tie than the tie of sentiment. (Applause.) After all, sentiment rules us in every relationship of life. And as to the tie that sends thousands of young men to South Africa for the mother country when she is in danger, what stronger tie do we want? But there are difficulties and there are troubles which will require a great deal of care and a great deal of patience on the part of politicians in the mother country and in Canada within the next 25 years, to promote the proper feelings and the proper harmony which ought to exist if there is to be that proper organic unity which there

should be between the colonies and the mother country. For it is plain, and it is open talk, that there can only be three things before this country—*independence, annexation or some greater measure of Imperial federation.* Now a great deal of nonsense is talked with reference to the difficulties in the way of Imperial federation. I do not see that the difficulties are in any way to be considered in comparison with the remarkable attitude of the entire empire upon the question. (Applause.) The chief difficulty on the part of the British beyond the seas is that they want everything and are not willing to give anything. Now, if, as Canadians we are going to be an integral part of a great world-wide empire we have got to take our share in the responsibilities of empire. (Applause.) You cannot expect the mother country constantly to be providing for her children. This country is now approaching manhood and it is high time for it to be taken into partnership and allowed a voice in the affairs of the empire, and to bear its fair share of the expense so far as is proportionate to a colony or to a free portion of such an empire.

And lastly, a few words about our own country. What are the ideals that we should cherish with reference to this country? I am glad to speak to a body of young men, because men under 40 as a rule have ideals. After 40—well, it is not so easy to cherish them, but there are reasonable ideals, which I think all of us over 40 or under 40 should look forward to in this country, and the first is that we should have a strong race. Now, fortunately, we are situated most satisfactorily for the development of a race strong in body. We often hear it spoken of as a disadvantage to this country that it is situated so far north. There has rarely been in the history of the world a very strong nation not situated in the north and it is very much to our advantage that we have a rigorous winter and that the climate is a bit hard at times. It is very much to the advantage of the race, and it is likely to produce in the coming ages a stronger race than on any other part of this continent. Twenty-five years hence, when a second and third generation have come, the probability is that by far the most verile nation on this continent will be to the north of the great lakes. It is a distinct advantage to be to the north and not to the south of the line of 45 degrees.

Then there is the question of your morality. We have here a heterogeneous commingling of English, Irish and Scotch, which is without doubt the best mixture the world has ever seen, and if we can only have an arrangement made by our Parliament, for every fourth or fifth British Canadian man to marry a French-Canadian girl, the future of the race would be assured. (Laughter.) The second ideal we should look forward to is to have a strong race mentally. Now, that is a very difficult thing to do. You can grow corn or potatoes, but you cannot grow brains. Brains come hard and they come high. But you can do this—you can foster elementary education by having everywhere, well-equipped schools with well-equipped school teachers, (applause) and there is no one problem of great-

er moment to this country and to the United States than getting well-equipped male school teachers. (Applause.) You can get plenty of girls, but it does not do for the boys to be brought up under a school mistress. And you cannot get young men to teach unless you pay them better salaries, and unless you make them feel that their profession is not only honorable and useful and that they are doing the best and highest work for the country, but that their profession is one, too, in which there is some prospect after their life work, of looking forward to a system of pension by which they will have something to provide against old age and for their families.

The university problem in this country is rapidly, I think, approaching a solution. Nothing is more gratifying to one conversant with the history of the universities here, than to see the rapidity with which the universities are growing. The provincial university will, I hope, in time really get to the provincial breast and not be bottle fed as it has been for so long. But there is a most remarkable awakening in this country. The Canadian literature as represented in our magazines and scientific journals is now sought after and looked to, and in one line particularly—not much sought after here among the business men, but a very important thing—the poetry in Canada is perhaps at a higher level than the poetry of the United States at present. (Applause.) And that is after all a very important thing. While we look perhaps disparagingly—the business man does—upon the poet, he is after all a very important factor in the history of the nation, and it is well said that where there is no vision the people perish, and the vision of the better and the higher things come to the people not so often through the preacher as through the poet. So that I would urge you, when you have a young fellow scribbling verse in your office, raise his salary. (Laughter.)

The third and most important thing of all is to grow a strong nation morally. I do not think that Canadians as a whole are a highly immoral people. I am told, for example, that the homicides in this country are not so numerous as in the United States. In fact, I am sure that they are not. I do not think that drunkenness is as prevalent as it used to be in this country. I do not think that the craving for strong drink is anything like what it was in our fathers' days. Those of you perhaps with Scotch fathers have a little tissue-thirst and feel uneasy at only having cold water, but you will get over it and it will astonish you to be told that some of my strongest teetotal friends are the children of Scotch fathers. It shows what environment will do. Illegitimacy is very rare in this country, very rare, and it is an excellent indication of the morals of the people. Divorce, too, is rarer—than many would like it to be. (Laughter.) That is because it is arranged by an act of the Dominion Parliament. If it was a matter of Provincial legislation, I am quite sure it would be as common as it is in some other parts of this continent. All

those major vices of which I have spoken are particularly rare, so that I think I may say that morally this country has made a good start.

There is only one other point to which I would like to refer, one in which this country is not in a good state morally. There is far too much evil speaking, lying and slandering in connection with political life. (Hear ! hear !) Now, that does seem to me to be an entirely unnecessary and superfluous thing and it does not seem right that our young men should be brought up in this atmosphere in which there is constantly a feeling of hostility and a slandering attitude in the press towards their political opponents. It does no good and it does a great deal of harm. Now it is not a difficult thing to deal with if the people only set their hearts earnestly against it and frown it down as a positive vice and a very serious vice. I regard it as a much worse vice than drunkenness, infinitely worse. Take away a man's character; take it away, as it is done often, without any actual warrant, without any knowledge of the facts—it is worse than if the person were actually a drunkard. Now there is only one way to meet that and it is a very simple way indeed. That is to deal with political opponents in the ordinary everyday Christian spirit. (Applause.) Now it is no good to say that you cannot bring Christianity into politics. A certain type of politics perhaps you cannot, but at any rate you need not call it Christianity. Call it the ordinary everyday behavior, if not of St. Paul's noble Christian, then of Aristotle's true gentleman and stop this evil speaking, lying and abuse, in our public press. It does no good and it does infinite harm. Young men are brought up in an atmosphere which teaches them to distrust their leaders and teachers, and it produces a feeling of hostility and distrust in things political and where there is so much mud slinging it is very easily passed on from the sphere of politics to other spheres, and you distrust your neighbors, and there is a general feeling of unrest and a lack of that harmony and of that sympathy and brotherhood that we should have one towards another as Canadians. (Applause.)

(January 9, 1905.)

Political Purity

BY PRINCIPAL GORDON, OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—The subject on which I wish to offer some remarks during the brief time at our disposal is Political Purity, or, I might rather call it "Electoral Impurity." My friend, Rev. Dr. Warden, who sits on my right, tells me it is a dangerous subject at the present time, but it is a subject worthy the consideration of any Canadian assembly. I know that you expect those who address your meetings

to be more or less expert on the subjects on which they speak, but I claim to be no expert in any matter affecting politics. All party questions are naturally debarred from assemblies of this kind, but this is more than a party question, it is a national question (applause), and because this Club contemplates various questions from a national standpoint I venture to speak on this subject. I think I am right in saying that this is very largely a young men's club, and while some of the older men may almost have dropped into a tone of despair regarding the cleansing of the political life of the country, I can appeal with confidence to the young men who cherish high ideals and lofty aspirations for their country, and I say they can secure electoral purity. (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman, we have very much in the life and lot of Canadians for which to feel grateful. We have a country, the extent and resources of which we ourselves are as yet scarcely familiar with and which is attracting the attention of the outside world, and we all know that if Canadians fail to become a great people it is not for lack of a great country. We have been, and are, and shall be engaged in the development of its material resources. We have one transcontinental railway, and we are about to have another, and a third, with headquarters in your city, is building, in fact the third may be second in point of time of completion. This means rapid development of trade and manufactures, but we are forgetful of all the lessons of history if we fail to recognize that the cities and empires which have gone down in the past, have gone down, not by external attack, but by inward rottenness. Only purity and integrity of its people can save this or any other country from a similar fate. (Applause.)

It may be difficult to say at any time what is the prevailing evil in a community. What is the prevailing evil in Canada? I would certainly not say commercial immorality. In point of business integrity Canadians stand high. (Applause.) Not intemperance, because notwithstanding all agitation on that subject I believe that in point of temperance Canada stands high. (Renewed applause.) I would say that it is electoral impurity from which we suffer most keenly at the present time. It is man's duty to face evil determinedly. I know I am speaking on a delicate subject, but I need not point to evidence regarding the existence of electoral impurity. There is not a man in this or any other reasonable gathering of Canadians that would deny the existence of electoral impurity.

As for finding a remedy, first of all we must recognize, I think, the argument that no two men look at moral questions in the same way. Is it not the case that a very large number of honorable men have different standards whereby to test public morality and private morality? Is it not the case that a number of men—I have known some myself, there are not many among the members of the Canadian Club and yet I dare say such have been found here—regard it as really not an evil thing for a man to take two or three dollars for his vote? I have known men who said

they did not think it was a wrong thing for a man to promise to vote one way, accept a bribe to vote that way, and then vote the other way.

I have known honorable men who pleaded that the one way to meet electoral impurity on the one side was by means of electoral impurity on the other side—fighting fire with fire, as they said. And so, has it not come to this, that we have a large number of honorable men on each side we have a corrupt purchasable element and we suffer the purchase of that of politics, and between them, in almost every constituency in the country, element to decide the election? It might be said by way of remedy that we require stricter legislation. If legislation could be secured that would punish the briber as severely as the man who accepts the bribe; if legislation could be secured that would make us quite certain of getting evidence within the law necessary to apply the law; if legislation could be secured that would ensure the adequate punishment of guilty men when detected and exposed, then legislation might be relied upon as adequate. No doubt our legislation might be toned up in this regard, but must we not hope for and aim at securing a toning up of the public conscience in regard to this matter. (Applause.)

There have been in the past evils from which society has suffered and regarding which the public conscience came to be toned up in such a way that those evils disappeared. There was a time when men looked very lightly upon slavery, when they found, as they thought, arguments in scripture warranting the enslavement of the negro; when they found arguments they thought upholding the necessity of negro labor and other reasons to justify negro slavery, and yet that is all a thing of the past. The public conscience became so toned up in regard to it that emancipation had to follow. The public conscience for a long time was very dull in regard to duelling. My distinguished fellow-countryman, Hon. Joseph Howe, fought a duel, and that when the first flush of youthful enthusiasm had passed; when he was already in his mature manhood. Now it is bracketed with murder. The public conscience was toned up to put it away forever. The public conscience is still somewhat slow regarding gambling, which, I think, may be bracketed with theft. The public conscience is somewhat slack also with regard to smuggling, especially the feminine conscience. (Laughter.) Perhaps the men are a little more afraid of being detected. (Renewed laughter and applause.) The public conscience has certainly been toned up in regard to drunkenness, and that is a disgraceful thing now where it was not a disgrace in an earlier generation. But the public conscience has not been toned up in regard to electoral impurity.

If we are to be delivered from this evil it must be along the line of the toning-up of the public conscience. What does a man do when he sells his vote? The price paid for it in the market is a trifle; the price paid to secure the privilege of that vote cannot be reckoned up. (Applause.) It is to be estimated in the long drawn-out conflict by the Anglo-

Saxon race for freedom. It is to be traced to Runnymede and the Magna Charta and all down through the centuries. It has been a long sternly-fought conflict and the outcome of that conflict is the privilege to vote. Canadians know something of this. Honorable men of our country whose names are easily recalled devoted, themselves to secure the victory for freedom. As Whittier has said :

“ The crowning fact
The kingliest act
Of freedom is the freeman’s vote.”
(Applause.)

It is the ballot cast by the elector on voting day that expresses for us that long drawn-out conflict carried on through so many centuries. And yet men treat it as lightly as if it had cost nothing; as prodigal sons may treat inheritances from their fathers, because they have no thought about the value, have never felt the pinch of tyranny, and are not able to appreciate the results of that conflict that has issued in their own freedom. We need to have a more vivid sense of what we enjoy in connection with the privileges that we possess as free Canadians.

Of course, if the public conscience is to be toned up we must recognize that we are called to have the very best men to represent us in Parliament, and that the very best men should stand by them and rally to their assistance. (Applause.) I have no patience with those who say that this, that and the other man is too clean, too honest, for politics. We cannot have men too clean, too honest, to represent us in Parliament if we ourselves are clean, and if we require, as we do require, clean and honest men on the bench and in our boards of trade, surely beyond all as citizens we require honest and pure men to represent us in the making of the laws of the land. Of course, if we are to have such men in Parliament, then the clean and honest men, such as those I see around me, must rally to their support; must aid them. It is one of the complaints, as those who have conferred with our leading and best parliamentary men are aware, it is one of the complaints of these men that after they are once elected the best men in the community often fail to rally to their aid and they become pursued by place-hunters and axe-grinders. You remember the pathetic picture that Mr. Mackenzie drew of the position in which he had been placed as guardian of the treasury, and Sir John Macdonald, when he was once in your city, was asked by a gentleman to go out on horse-back and with him follow a pack of hounds, to which he replied. “My dear fellow, I have a pack of hounds always following me.” (Laughter and applause.) The best men should stand by those whom they elect, and when we get a good man we should rally to his support.

Not only must we endeavor to have the public conscience toned up in this regard, but it seems to me that we would greatly aid the cause of

delivering the country from electoral impurity if we had a large number of independent electors on each side. I do not for one moment advocate any attempt to abolish party government. Those who watched with interest the fate of the last local Government in British Columbia, if they required any arguments, might have found there the best evidence that it is better for us to have party government and recognize it as such. (Applause.) I do not advocate the formation of a so-called independent party in Parliament, but I do advocate an increased number of independent electors on each side, men who will be willing to say to their party managers that they cannot support them unless the men who direct the party affairs are clean and the measures they submit are honest and wise. I know that an independent man has in such a connection been defined as a man who cannot be depended upon. I would like to be a man who cannot be depended upon by the party heeler. (Applause.) I want to see a large number taking the position that they are not to be regarded as dyed-in-the-wool. I have sometimes been very much amused, as no doubt you have been, in looking over the obituary notices, not in your own Toronto papers, I refer more especially to rural papers, in which it was credited to the deceased that he had been a life-long Reformer or a life-long Conservative, as though either of those distinctions was ample one for sainthood. (Laughter.) I know that it is difficult to be independent. We have all been brought up under party ties and attachments and they are not easy to sever. Besides, one does not like to be called by such pleasant names as "turn-coat" and to be accused of "ratting." I fear also that there is a temptation on the part of younger men to attach themselves to a particular party in order to reap personal advantages. If we had a larger proportion of independent electors, men who could not be relied on to follow their party through thick and thin, and would give it only a fair and generous support when they believed it was led right, I believe we would then have one of the strongest agencies to act as a counterforce to electoral impurity, and we would then have a sufficient strong and independent electorate to knock the corrupt element out of business. (Applause.)

After all, is there such a difference between the two parties in this Province that it would be impossible for honorable men to take the position I advocate? I have examined the platforms of the two parties as passed at the different conventions held in your city and I was not able to detect important differences between those platforms. Perhaps the platforms might be used according to the old story of the negro porter of the Pullman car who described the platform as "Something not to stand on, sir, but to get in on." (Laughter and applause.) Certainly there is so little difference between the platforms that were one a stranger coming to us from some other country and endeavoring to make up his mind as a reasonable and conscientious man on which side to vote, it would be difficult to decide from the examinations of those platforms. That being so, and

it also being the case that many Conservatives are blind to the things best worth conserving and many Reformers blind to those that need reform, I hope that an increasing number will shake themselves free from what may be regarded as the fetters of partyism. I may be told I am dreaming and that this is visionary. On one thing, however, I am not visionary. I have confidence in the men of the country, and especially the younger men of the country, that they will so regard the higher interests of the country that they will devise means of getting rid of electoral impurity. (Applause.) If we are determined to find a remedy then our quest will be crowned with reward. What I believe is that we should recognize it as an evil eating into the very life of the country; that we should bend all our energies to deliver our country from it and because I have confidence in the life and the men of the country I look upon the present as but a passing condition, and have the assurance that we shall have a political life as free from impurity as that of any country on the globe, and believe that of our country it is true, the best is yet to be. (Long and prolonged applause.)

(January 13, 1905.)

Art

BY FORBES ROBERTSON.

I am supposed to address you on art. That is a very large order and I do not propose to speak in a homogeneous manner about art generally. I should like, however, to say a few desultory words about art, because the whole of my life has been devoted to two arts, the drama and painting. It has been my privilege to know a great many distinguished painters and sculptors in the old country, in France and in Italy, and I feel that we can never too often speak of the influences of art on the world in general. The influence is refining, and it is softening. We may look upon science and great enterprises as material to our advancement and social improvement, but art speaks to us spiritually. We are all of us busy men in different departments of life, but we know in that arduous and strenuous life how elevating are the influences of art which, as a distraction, meets all the requirements in human nature.

We are gradually in the Old Country and very vastly here, advancing in our appreciation of the higher walks in art. I can quite remember when, in what we might call the Victorian epoch of art, we found ugly forms, ugly buildings, and statues out of all proportion, with the decorations of halls and private houses very poor and lamentable. It was literally a black period of art, but there came a time when a mere handful of men, poor men, struggling with high aims and high ideals, appeared to

advance art generally. Those men, some of whom I knew personally, were responsible for this great movement, a movement I venture to say that has caused a wonderful development of the appreciation for art. It is wonderful the improvement that has taken place in architecture, sculpture and painting, and particularly in the interior decoration of homes. The men who were the pioneers of this movement were Maddox Brown, Sir John Millais, Rossetti, Sir Edwin Burne Jones, Holman Hunt and William Morris, the poet. They had a trumpeter, as it were, and he was their scribe and encourager before world, John Ruskin. Ruskin was a man of means, and in those days a man of wealth, but he devoted his entire life and practically his entire fortune to propagating the gospel of the higher forms of art. I need not speak to you of his great works, the Stones of Venice and many others, that he gave to the world, but he promoted so to speak the works of the men I have mentioned, particularly Sir John Millais.

John Ruskin promoted their work far and wide against all sorts of abuse coming from all directions and directed against those pioneers. Maddox Brown said: "We know that there is a great future for art, and we know that if we appeal to the truth we shall eventually win." And they did win. The names of those pioneers are forever blazoned on the banner that is carried by the enthusiasts for art, and ever sacred to men in this country and in the old country who devote themselves to the fine arts. A few characteristics of the pioneers of art will doubtless be interesting. It was my privilege to know very intimately the father of this movement, although his name is not so well known as the others, Maddox Brown. He was a man who looked like the father of some great people. He had a wonderful white beard, with rather long, straight white hair, and the gentlest and sweetest nature imaginable. Under his influence came the other men I have mentioned, and from his obscure and humble studio emanated this wonderful galaxy of artists.

It is interesting to bear in mind that all these men were poor and struggling individuals. When I say poor, I mean that they were very poor, and had not a sixpence to jingle on a tombstone. Rossetti, the poet and painter, I knew extremely well. He was a rugged, strong-looking, black-bearded man, with flashing eyes, distinctly Italian. He was very excitable and passionate, but withal most gentle. I once asked him how he managed to get such beautiful people to sit for him, particularly beautiful women, for his models. He said: "My dear boy, I have one method. I stand at the window of my house and if I see a beautiful creature pass I rush out and say, 'I am a painter. I want you to sit for me.'" Under such conditions Rossetti's attitude, I can assure you, would be rather startling, and it occurred to me to ask him what the general result was of those appeals, particularly on a rainy day. "Oh," he said, "sometimes they scream, and if they do I rush into my house and slam the door."

Sir John Millais, the great portrait painter, was a boy up to his death, a boy in spirit and bearing, and in every relation in life. His nature was simple and childlike. He loved flowers and children and loved to contemplate anything that was beautiful. He had a perfectly simple mind, and a great love of sport. He was a keen fisherman and an excellent shot, and to sit by the river watching him fling his line was one of the most delightful things imaginable. His enjoyment was extraordinary. He took very short holidays, sometimes only six weeks or a couple of months each year." The audience roared at this remark, and Mr. Robertson, continuing, said: "You work harder here than we do in the old country. Millais told me that he had been persuaded to forego his holidays once because an American offered him a blank cheque to paint his portrait. He was extremely annoyed about it, but he sat down to paint the picture and his holiday was gone. When the picture was finished he showed it to the American who was silent when he saw it, and this upset the artist, as he thought something was wrong. After a while, however, the American said: 'Well, Mr. Millais—as he was then—in America, I breed horses. My study looks out on the paddock where my horses graze, and it is my habit to stand at the window and they come trooping up and eat out of my hand. When I take my picture home I shall stand it in that window and I know the horses will come up.'

"Sir E. Burne Jones was a sort of spirit something more than a man's or a great scholar's, which he was distinctly, and more than a great painter. He was a man whose art has had a wonderful influence on the world, a man whose nature has softened and sweetened every other nature with which it came in contact. But he was not like Sir John Millais. He was not a successful portrait painter, and therefore he could not take six weeks' or two months' holidays. I remember he once told me he suffered very much from the interruption of visitors, and that the curate of his parish was a great deal too fond of ringing his door bell or literally hanging on the knocker. The maid told the artist that the curate was downstairs, and Sir Edwin was busy painting on the first floor, and in order to impress the curate firmly that he could not exchange more than half a dozen words with him he came to the top of the stairs with his brush and pastel in his hand. The curate looked up the stairs and exclaimed, 'Ah, Sir Edwin, there you are with your easel on your thumb.' Another time some great lady was carelessly shown by a servant into his sanctum. Sir Edwin, hearing the rustling of skirts on the stairs, hid himself behind the door of his study, feeling that this grande madame would sweep out when she saw that he was not in. Unfortunately, she advanced to the picture he was painting, and as she turned around to quit the room which she believed was empty, she confronted the poor artist who was still standing behind the door. She shook her finger at him and exclaimed: 'Naughty, naughty boy!'

"Rossetti I remember as a very interesting man, who was hopelessly vague about monetary matters. A great friend of his named Sands, who was always horribly hard up, and always immaculately dressed, tried to get some money out of Rossetti. The artist got furious, and said. 'My dear Sands, this will never do; this continual borrowing of money is impossible. I will give you money to pay your passage to America, where you can paint the beautiful creatures.' Sands could paint, but this proposal did not suit him, and he eventually walked back into London with a friend who was also hard up. After they had been walking awhile Sands, who spoke very much like Rossetti, remarked: 'You know Rossetti has very much changed. He has lost all sense of proportion. If we had the money to pay our passage to America why, we wouldn't want to go?' I am afraid that this is rather common with the artistic temperament.

"We cannot do without painting, sculpture, music and the drama. They are, as it were, the wine, the joyousness of our lives, and the cultivation and the fostering of the fine arts in all their delicate blends ought to be a great principle in any man who has the interest of the community at large at heart. As to the drama I have a sanguine attitude about it. I think we have very much improved, mainly through the efforts of Sir Henry Irving, who has made the standard which some of us try and endeavor to imitate. Sir Henry has also caused his country to acknowledge his calling, and he said to me: 'I did not wish personally for my knighthood, but I wished that my calling should be represented and acknowledged by the country.' Our only trouble is the want of plays. One gets inundated with all sorts of plays, and one never knows what to say when the play is unsatisfactory and undesirable. It is a hard thing to have to speak the brutal truth, but I had a friend who solved the question very well. He was the distinguished London actor, John Keene, and somebody had sent him a play which was perfectly hopeless. He read it and wrote to the man: 'My dear sir, I have read your play. Oh, my dear sir! Yours truly, John Keene.' Incidentally there is a prologue to that story. I had told it with considerable success for some years, and when in my dressing room one night I told it to my secretary. He did not even smile, and I thought he had no sense of humor until he said: 'I was that man.'

"Canada has produced men of distinction in the drama, painting and architecture. As regards the drama there was a man who made a very high position for himself in London, and won golden opinions from all sorts of people for his work, and on account of his own charm and personality. His name was Franklin McLeay. I look with pride at the wonderful and beautiful architectural features of this city. I am proud because I feel I am sharing the beauties of the City of Toronto. I am not a stranger here. I am more than a visitor, and I feel when I cross the border and salute the British flag that I am a Britisher. I have

taken the greatest interest and pleasure in viewing the architectural features of Toronto, and I think when Canada can boast of a Frank Darling, she need not worry. I appreciate the honor of being your guest to-day. It will be one of the proudest, if not the proudest, of the days I have spent in your sunny and delightful city."

(February 6, 1905.)

The Hudson's Bay Expedition

BY COMMANDER A. P. LOW.

"There is a large amount of land grabbing going on amongst the nations of the world, and any territory, however inaccessible, is liable to be taken. Within the last few years a number of aliens have been exploring the far north. We welcome scientific exploration, but we want it to distinctly understood that this does not give possession of any land that belongs to Canada." This patriotic note, which was warmly applauded, was sounded by Mr. A. P. Low, of the Geological Survey, in the course of an interesting address, profusely illustrated by many beautiful stereopticon views, on "The Dominion Expedition to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands on the Steamship Neptune."

The address was a plain concise recital by Mr. Low of the great value to Canada of the northern part, both in the matter of food supply and eventual navigation, with possibilities of boundless resources yet undeveloped. He made no pretence to literary or oratorical effect, but just talked in what may be well described as a quiet, homely way, and even the views he showed were not in the least garnished. They simply conveyed the very natural conditions which obtain in the remarkable country of which he spoke, and indicated in a manner which is not possible otherwise the conditions under which our fellow-Canadians live away up amongst the musk ox, the caribou, the whale, and the walrus, and in what to them are their palatial houses of snow.

Mr. Low said that, to make the question clear as to the intention of Canada being determined not to be done out of any more territory, the Dominion Government two years ago resolved to take virtual possession of the northern parts of which he was speaking by establishing a settlement and annually patrolling the waters with an armed cruiser. For that purpose the Neptune, the most useful boat in every way that could have been selected, left Halifax in August, 1903, with a crew of 42 on board. She moved on the romantic coast of Labrador to Hudson's Straits, where customs were collected and the law enforced at whaling stations, dropping anchor for the winter alongside the American whalers. Those whal-

ers, explained Mr. Low, had been without any control in the Hudson waters for upwards of forty years, and it was time Canada began to look after her own. At Fullerton they found that the natives could not supply the Neptune with sufficient deer skins, etc., for the expedition, with the result that a boat was sent about 250 miles up the Chesterfield inlet, where all that was wanted was obtained.

Mr. Low mentioned that the distance from the international boundary to the extreme north of Ellesmere Land was 2,800 miles, so that Toronto was further away from our northern limit than from Vancouver. The land to the north of Hudson's Straits and Bay was composed of a large number of islands, forming the Arctic Archipelago, and having an area of 500,000 square miles. Those islands, like the rest of Canada, were painted red in the school maps, and that was due to the discoveries of the gallant sons of Great Britain from the time of Queen Elizabeth down to 1875. The territory has been acquired by the Dominion as part of the heritage of Confederation. The lecturer then traced the various discoveries of territory commencing in 1576 with Sir M. Frobisher, and coming down to the time of Franklin, to whom and his valiant men he paid a warm tribute. He evoked great enthusiasm by throwing a picture on the screen showing the hoisting of the Union Jack on Ellesmere Land, and being saluted by the sailors, and went on to describe the various courses taken by the Neptune, a large map serving as an admirable guide to the audience to follow Mr. Low in his memorable travels. The construction of the vessel, with her protection of British oak, inside sheeting, etc., was also detailed, and showed that she was in every way admirably adapted for this particular class of cruising work. Some good pictures of the ship were given under various situations.

Mr. Low referred to the value of whale fishing, the bone of one whale being worth about £3,800 per ton, and weighing about 1,800 pounds, and said it was no wonder Scotch and American boats went after them. There was also an almost never failing supply of fish worth catching, the seas simply swarming with salmon, walrus, porpoise, etc. The salmon, which resembled the best of British Columbia, were in particular abundance, and on one occasion over a thousand were caught in an hour and a half with the aid of nets. There was also coal in places, a mica mine paying a good profit, and other minerals. Of course, the country was situated largely within the Arctic Circle, and there could not be any agricultural resources, but its other advantages were quite sufficient. The distance from Churchill to Liverpool, via Hudson Bay, was the same as from Montreal, and this alone would one day be a big factor in the further development of the Northwest. From Regina to Churchill was about the same distance as Regina to Fort William, a gain of 1,000 miles from Regina to Liverpool by the Hudson Bay route, and on the basis of half a cent a ton per mile there would be a saving of 15 cents per bushel on the conveyance of wheat. It was not, of course, going to be any advantage to Toronto

or Montreal, but Mr. Low thought they were all patriotic enough to realize that anything that was going to benefit their countrymen in the Northwest was going to benefit the Dominion in general.

Mr. Low's pictures of life amongst the Esquimaux were notable features of his address, from snow houses which have to be renewed every month, to native babies which are carried by their mothers for two years in hoods suspended from the head. A hearty vote of thanks, moved by Mr. Byron E. Walker, and seconded by Prof. Coleman, was accorded Mr. Low for his lecture.

(February 13, 1905).

The English Public Service

BY PROF. W. S. MILNER.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—In the year 1825 an act was passed in the British Parliament to buy out two legal positions, one in the Court of King's Bench, the other in the Common Pleas—a last echo of a time in our history when the administration of justice itself was bought and sold. Like the Romans, we British seldom destroy anything. We do well in our Coronation pageants and elsewhere to bring out on occasion quaint relics of feudalism lest we forget. Every age requires the past to be interpreted anew. If yesterday civil and political liberty was the clue to our annals, to-morrow and for this North American continent the clue to it will be public service. For indeed our history is the record of how administration for long centuries claimed as the property of the monarch to be sold or auctioned or dispensed to favorites, then grasped by parliament, again to be abused, has at length been converted into a public trust.

There are surely some among us who have felt, since the unhappy Alaskan diplomacy, a poignant fear that the Sibyl, according to the old story, had offered her books for the last time—and had been refused. For they greatly err who see in Imperialism rampant the only or indeed the strongest sentiment of empire. What man, who reads our annals aright, can surrender without passionate regret the dream of a vast household of nations, knit together by no political anatomy, but by blood, by instinct, by glorious and precious tradition, by common destiny and a sense of common duty! To none would disallusionment be more painful than Canadians. But if, in our impatience we sometimes think that the colonies better understand the meaning of that Empire than the motherland, it is because our insight is vastly superior to our practice.

Let us follow this clue of public service and see where it will take us.

To take the first stage, under the Normans there was no division of functions into legislative, judicial and executive. All were concentrated in the King, justice, the most sacred function of government, was of the King's grace. The feudal sovereign sold or distributed among his friends the spoils of office. What illustration is required of what we all know so well? But let us try to realize better what it all means. In 1130 the Chancellor of the Royal Household owes £3,006.13.4 for the great seal. The Treasurership was bought by the Bishop of Nigel for his son for £400.

Our first great movement for liberty was essentially a movement for purer administration. Act 45 of Magna Charta may be called the first civil service rule. "We will not make," it reads, "any justices, constables, sheriffs or bailiffs, but of such as know the law of the realm and mean truly to observe it." But the sale of justice continued under the Normans and Plantagenets. The Treasurer, the Chancellor, the Justiciar still pay for their offices, and in the 13th century many great dignities become hereditary. In a great council at Nottingham the shrievalties of Oxfordshire and Lincolnshire are put up at auction by the King, and the former is knocked down to Archbishop Geoffrey for 3,000 marks. And so again and again and all the way down the scale.

A second step in the reform of the public service may be dated from the rising of Wat Tyler in 1377. Acute conditions produce a demand for reform, and reform movements are not always scrupulous as to their leaders. The luxury and profligacy of the nobles had contributed to raising the lowest social stratum, for, to replenish their purses, they had begun to sell the manumission of their serfs, the King himself leading the way. The people are beginning to think and, as so often in our history, we find the leaven of reform working simultaneously in many fields. It was the age of Wiclif. The pamphleteers of the time are the forerunners of Milton and Burke. The great inquest of the Good Parliament had come too late. It was the poll-tax that fired the train, and blind popular fury found an ignoble leader in Wat Tyler. It soon transpired that what the political leaders of the hour wanted was not reform of abuse so much as power itself. Power begins to descend the scale. Parliament is eventually to acquire the gift of office, and after centuries is itself to become the object of attack. Revolution consumes its leaders, but their work survives. The act passed ten years after the rebellion for the first time clearly detaches the great abuses of patronage and the great principles of public service are for the first time clearly enunciated in this second series of civil service rules. (12 Rich. II, c. 2.)

"None shall obtain office by suit or reward, but upon desert."

Item (1) "It is according, that the Chancellor, Treasurer, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Steward of the King's House, the King's Chamberlain, Clerk of the Robes, the Justices of the one bench and the other, Barons of

the Exchequer, and all others that shall be called to ordain, name or make justices of the peace, sheriffs, escheators, customers, comptrollers, or any other officers of the King, shall be firmly sworn."

(2) "They shall not ordain, name or make any justices of the peace, sheriffs, escheators, customers or comptrollers, nor any other officers of the King, for any gift or brokerage, favour or affection."

(3) "Nor that any that pursueth by himself or by others, privately or openly to be in any manner of office shall be put in the same office or in any other."

(4) "But that they shall make all such officers and ministers of the best and most lawful men and sufficient to their estimation and knowledge."

Here is something which in the course of centuries will take its rank with "habeas corpus" and "trial by jury," as one of the crowning achievements of our history.

Two generations have hardly run out when corruption is again assailed by violence. For the Cade rising in Kent was more than a protest against the Statute of Laborers, it was another call for administrative reform. But any real check was to require ruder blows. There was no sign of fundamental change before Cromwell. In the meantime the Tudors and Stuarts have increased the difficulties of reform by their assumption of divine right. The spoils system has extended through the Church. Patrons present their huntsmen and gamekeepers to livings and St. Paul's becomes appropriately the Stock Exchange of the day. "Young Gallants rode their horses through the aisles and stabled them among the monuments." (Froude, V, 255-257). And the theory of divine right culminates in the shameless orgy of corruption of the reign of James I. Bacon was in reality a scapegoat.

In Cromwell the English people resorted for the only time in their history to a dictator, or to a tyranny in the Greek sense. Cromwell first shook the tyrannical spoils system to its base. The blows he dealt were in reality fatal, though the old system appeared for the moment to rise again triumphant. He won by the support of a party in the state. Responsibility to God is replaced by responsibility to party. Malignants were excluded from office, but for the first time in our history administration is entrusted on some considerable scale to capacity. He dispensed justice, it is true, with the ample hand of the butcher, rather than the scales of the apothecary, and he was thoroughly partisan. But partisan administration is a necessary stage in progress, and we shall see it revive after party government has been thought to be established, display its tyranny and be replaced. But the great note of the Cromwellian epoch is the rise of public opinion. It was a grand age that produced a Hampden, a Pym, an Eliot, a Marvel a Milton, a Vane. Sir Henry Vane gave up the fees of his office as Treasurer of the Navy, amounting to £30,000 annually as a guarantee of his sincerity in reform. Marvel's writings

contain the first systematic attack upon administrative abuses. Charles II. in vain attempted to buy him with a bribe of £1,000. He is said to have been the last member of Parliament who was paid for his services. These men are practically the first of the long line of English statesmen who entered upon life for no personal gain.

The stream is thenceforth nearly continuous. They abound and multiply from Pitt onward and present a spectacle to-day which is the glory and envy of the civilized world. A speech of Sir John Eliot in 1628 contains an arraignment of corruption worthy of a Hebrew prophet. "For the next," he says, "the ignorance and corruption of our ministers, where can you miss of instances? If you survey the courts, if you survey the country; if the church, if the city be examined; if you observe the bar, if the bench, if the ports, if the shipping, if the land, if the seas—all these will give you variety of proofs; and that in such measure and proportion as shows the greatness of the disease to be such that if there be not some speedy appliance of remedy, our case is almost desperate."

Again the pendulum swings back. What a Caligula, a Commodus, an Elagabalus are in Roman history as illustrating the last possibilities of the beast in man, the Restoration period is in English history for administrative corruption. James II.'s order to the county lieutenants to support his policy on pain of dismissal (which half refused to obey) anticipates Andrew Jackson by three generations. He accepted a bribe of 10,000 guineas from the East India Company. But nothing was too small. None but the faithful were to receive licenses to sell wine, beer or coffee. A custom house official professed 14 reasons for submission in the number of his family. The gerrymander was set in operation 75 years before Elbridge Gerry.

It may not be unwholesome for the English governing class to-day—surely the noblest the world has ever seen—to reflect that this administrative honor runs not in the blood and is no special property of class. Their predecessors at the commencement of the modern Parliamentary system were in the main profoundly tainted with duplicity and treachery.

We enter upon the last stage of a century and a half (1693-1853.) William of Orange institutes the party system. The Bill of Rights contains a third series of civil service rules, providing that "elections of members of Parliament ought to be free," that no one holding office or pension under the King is to sit in the House, that judges' commissions shall be "quamdiu se bene gesserint." The new party system, was to illustrate and anticipate all the evils of administrative corruption on this continent in detail, and the balance of corruption now stands with Parliament.

William III. was a most earnest reformer, but himself resorted to pensions, sinecures and venal patronage and, before the close of his reign, bribery had increased. A pamphlet of Defoe describes a set of stock-jobbers in the city who made a business of buying and selling seats in Parliament. One thousand guineas was the market price, and Parliament was in danger of falling into the hands of a few individuals.

At the very outset the Speaker of the House, Sir John Trevor, had to put to the vote his own condemnation for receiving 1,000 guineas from the City of London. But he continued to be Master of the Robes for 20 years after this. Parliamentary corruption culminates under Walpole, Pelham and Newcastle. Its history shows most clearly that reform can come only from a long preparation in public opinion. Parliament plays the tyrant. It seeks to acquire army patronage as a whole, fights stubbornly to retain its control of the spoils of office, fights public criticism, fights against the liberty of the press, boroughs are rated at the Royal Exchange like stocks and the price of votes is as well known as that of land; a lord chancellor (Macclesfield) sells masterships in his own court, a first minister opens his opponents' letters; the practice is begun by laying assessments on salaries; nearly half of the members hold offices, pensions or sinecures; in 1742 the Secretary of the Treasury refuses to give an account of some \$6,000,000 secret service money on the ground taken by Walpole's agent that it would incriminate himself.

Here is the real field of attack upon which Pitt, the first great commoner, entered. Again the leaven of reform is found working in more fields than one. Wycliffe was to be repeated in Wesley. Voluntary associations arise for the reformation of public morals. In 1735 the Voluntary prosecutions in London and Westminster alone reached the amazing total of 99,380. It is also to be noted that from now on reform is more and more associated with democratic sentiment; but England was not destined to witness in the triumph of democracy merely a last assertion of privilege, a seizure of the spoils, as on this continent. Parliamentary corruption was to grow worse before it began to mend. Livings, commissions, boroughs were openly advertised and sold. In New Shoreham the "Christian Club" devised the most grotesque of all forms of corruption. They sold the borough openly for charity and divided the proceeds among the members. The administrative corruption in reality lost the great Republic to the South. What else was the inevitable end of a system which gave colonial life-governorships to infants in the cradle, to be administered by deputy?

The accession of George III. was a temporary reversion to sheer partisanship in spoils. He was the Andrew Jackson of Great Britain. Lord Macaulay's famous description of the dastardly persecution of the King and the "King's friends" should be attached as a label to Andrew Jackson—or more fairly to Aaron Burr and Martin Van Buren in the future museum of the progress of civilization in North America. No class was too humble for their tyranny—clerks, tide-waiters, gaugers, door-keepers, widows. But it was the hour before dawn.

Lord Rockingham's ministry was the first ministry pledged to reform. Public opinion was growing bold. It produced a Junius and a Burke. In 1782 all persons connected with the excise was disfranchised. This was to be continued up to 1868. In 1783 the younger Pitt came on

the scene. His personal income amounted to but £300, but he declined perquisites of office amounting to £3,000. In 1784 he carried through the great bill regulating the Government of India. In 1809 an act was passed repealing one of Edward VI., for the prevention of brokerage of office. But it is to be noted that even this late the Master and six clerks of the Irish Court of Chancery are excepted. In 1809, 1827 and 1854 further bribery acts followed. This legislation in its turn reacts on public opinion. But after all it is doubtful whether any one thing assisted the growth of public morality in England so much as publicity.

The great achievement was now near at hand. Pitt had introduced the principle of clean public service, as a principle to be practised, in the Irish constabulary and the Metropolitan police. Lord Liverpool abandoned custom officials in all grades to a system of promotion. Lord Grey extended the system of promotion. But the steady pressure of public opinion and of many of the higher public officials won a further concession from Lord Melbourne. Nominees for offices in some of the larger public departments were submitted to examination. The results of these examinations were so remarkable in *e.g.*, The Poor Law Commission and the Board of Public Works, that the municipal authorities in 25 towns asked the Board to nominate engineers.

To realize the meaning of what is to follow it is well to see where the Public Service now stands in the year 1853. No form of political assessment any longer exists, tenure of office is permanent on good behaviour, promotion is the rule, candidates for entrance to the civil service must pass examination. But these candidates must have been nominated. That is, members of Parliament have a monopoly of patronage, though not to the extent of our Canadian Houses, for a Patronage Secretary distributes the spoils with a careful exactness.

But with 1853 reform takes on great earnestness, and two things are to be noted in the work of the next 20 years.

(1) Parliament did not reform itself.

(2) When once we put our hands to the plough we shall hear much, as indeed we do now, of the sacred character of responsible government. Now, the changes I have to describe were carried through by commissions and in the first instance in the face of the direct opposition of Parliament.

In 1853 Lowe had procured a bill throwing open the Indian Civil Service to general competitive examination. Next year Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor under Lord Aberdeen, made preparation for another far-reaching change. From among his papers Mr. Morley preserved a leading reformer's comment which well deserves quotation. "The existing corps of civil servants do not like the new plan, because the introduction of well-educated, active men, will force them to bestir themselves, and because they cannot hope to get their own ill-educated sons appointed under the new system. The old established political families habitually fatten on the public patronage—their sons, legitimate and illegitimate, their relations

and dependents of every degree, are provided for by the score. Besides the adventuring disreputable class of members of Parliament, who make God knows what use of the patronage, a large number of borough members are mainly dependent upon it for their seats. What, for instance, are the members to do who have been sent down by the patronage secretary to contest boroughs in the interests of the Government, and who are pledged twenty deep to their constituents?" At Mr. Gladstone's request Sir Charles Trevelyan and Stafford Northcote prepared a report recommending two propositions "So familiarized to us to-day," says Mr. Morley, "as to seem like primordial elements of the British Constitution. One required competitive examination for entrance to the whole civil service, the other called for a permanent Board of Examiners. In answer to those who pointed to eminent men in the Service under the old system, such as Merivale, Taylor, and Farrer, Mr. Gladstone replied that the system had driven out equally eminent Mannings and Spaddings. Lord John Russell was at once hostile, but Mr. Gladstone planted himself firmly upon the great principle that "The public service should be laid open to personal merit." "This is my contribution," he writes, (January 3, 1854) "to Parliamentary reform." Years afterward he remarked, "No cabinet could have been more aristocratically composed than that over which Lord Aberdeen presided. I myself was the only one of fifteen noblemen and gentlemen who composed it who could not fairly be said to belong to that class." It is interesting to note that the inspiration came to Mr. Gladstone from the Oxford which he represented in Parliament. Temple, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Jowett had earnestly advised this measure. For the moment Mr. Gladstone's great effort was balked. There was general opposition in the House and a request was made by the Government for an opinion from representative men. This opinion was presented next year. Backed by it Lord Palmerston created a Civil Service Commission by an executive act. At first and wisely only limited competition was ventured on. The House voted this down next year, but the Government stood its ground and in 1856 the House reversed its vote. In 1857 so clearly was the case proven in the face of all prejudice that the House unanimously called for an extension of the system. The members awoke to see that what they had cherished as privilege was in reality an intolerable incubus.

The Government proceeded cautiously during the next twenty years. Nomination was largely done away with in 1870, though it is curious to observe that Mr. Bright even yet remained unconvinced, and in 1876 the Playfair Commission made a division of the Service into two classes. Discussion had now exhausted itself. The horrors of opening the Service to the humblest classes had been vividly portrayed and the opposite charge had been made of playing into the hands of the upper classes by an aristocratic type of examination. And the principle of examination itself had been attacked by comparison with the Chinese system. But England

had now made up its mind and in this year, 1876, the Indian Service was opened to every born subject in the British Empire without nomination and without regard to political party, color, creed or race, and since then, broadly speaking, this had been extended to all departments of the Civil Service.

Surely this is a wonderful record. The material achievements of that little land have been magnificent and unequalled. But I leave it with you, does the history of civilization on the whole contain anything more splendid—nay, so splendid as this development of public service, of which I have sketched only the smaller side, the evolution of the Civil Service.

You recall David Copperfield's meditations in the London Inn on returning to England. "I felt I was in England again and was really cast down on Traddles' account. There seemed to be no help for him * * * As I followed the chief waiter with my eyes I could not help thinking that the garden in which he had grown to be the flower that he was, was an arduous place to rise in. It has such a prescriptive, stiff-necked, long-established, solemn, elderly air. I glanced about the room which had had its sanded floor sanded, no doubt, in exactly the same manner when the chief waiter was a boy—if he ever was a boy, which appeared improbable; and at the shining tables, where I saw myself reflected in unruffled depths of old mahogany; and at the lamps without a flaw in their trimming and cleaning; and at the comfortable green curtains with their pure brass rods, snugly enclosing the boxes; and at the two large coal fires, brightly burning and at the rows of decanters, burly as if with the consciousness of pipes of expensive old port-wine below; and both England and the law appeared to be very difficult indeed to be taken by storm." Yet a boy from a Canadian farm or a mechanic's home may enter into open competition with the flower of young England, elect, if successful and physically and morally fit, either the Eastern cadetships, the Home or the Indian Service, and, if the latter, will receive £100 with which to spend a year in special preparation for his work in an English University and then, after a further test of the year's work, enter a career from which he retires at the end of 25 years of service with a pension of £1,000. And we have in the University one of several such Canadians who have entered in this way departments of the English Civil Service.

Here lies true Imperialism; here are the greatest glories of the homeland, civil liberty, and public service. "Of the homeland" one must say, for let us confess the truth that we Canadians have still much to learn of civil liberty, and of public service, how much, how much! We may thrill to the hope that whenever the oppressed call or the oppressor menaces "the meteor flag of England will yet terrific burn" and lead a greater Empire to arms, but the true work of greater empire is the full development through all its parts of civil liberty and public service in the largest sense. If we do these things Empire has nothing to fear. He is the true

loyalist who strives amain for the realization of these things and dreads as the note of doom the introduction into the motherland of the vices of North American politics.

Now, I submit that the time has come in Canada for the adoption of the principle of office to the most fit, for the elevation of the civil service into a profession, an object of manly ambition, fed in its higher branches by competitive selection from our Colleges and Universities.

Where do we really stand. Lord Dufferin in his farewell speech, Nov., 1878, congratulated us upon having made a beginning. But in reality we are still dawdling with the earliest of the three stages of reform which I have been describing, *i.e.*, the pass examination. This pass examination resembles the eye of a needle only in its minimum of knowledge required. The examinations passed, political influence is still necessary for appointment—*i.e.*, we retain nomination without exception, I believe. Again considerable fields of our public service do not come under civil service rules, and in the provinces there is no civil service test of any kind. More important still, we do not include deputy heads in the regular working of the rules, whereas in England practically all officials who do not go out with the Government are amenable to the rules of competition and promotion. But, more than this, it is to be profoundly regretted that every year the House at Ottawa ignominiously eats its own words by making irregular appointments, using the words “anything in the Civil Service Act to the contrary notwithstanding.” The truth is that outside the limited demand for special scientific training there is no place under the civil service rules to attract a young man of any real power for its own sake. The prizes are jealously kept for patronage, and nothing is too mean for the cares of Government in this distribution of rewards to the faithful.

A prominent official of the Dominion Government amused me recently by recounting among the incidents of a summer's work in exploration how his instructions directed him to purchase his supplies from certain people only, regardless of distance and added expense. His horses he found had to be bought from a shoemaker who owned not a horse. So petty are the cares of Government. In the vast field of the Dominion Civil Service we may say that a small area has been set apart in which a test is applied to enable us to hold up our heads in the Imperial household. But it is by no means competitive, and after it is passed political influence is then necessary for appointment; while outside this enclosure the principle of patronage reigns undisputed. With the sole exception of the judiciary—I hope I may still make this exception—office is frankly conceded on all sides to belong to the party in power. What this means we all know, but the “cake of custom”—what can break it? In 1865 Lincoln, pointing to a group of office seekers, exclaimed. “Here is a greater danger to the country than was the Rebellion.” What would he say to-day of the ravages made in little more than a generation? The

great problems of this North American continent are essentially one—inordinate wealth gotten by control of Government tyranny of labor, a contempt of labor, and, by the purchasable votes which they can soon acquire, developing the power of the boss and the political machine. With the spectacle to the south of us, is ours the folly that can learn only by experience? We cannot leave the path of political rectitude and turn into it again at the same place. The noblest men in the Republic have long since risen in arms against the gigantic evils which fatalism and selfish absorption have allowed to grow up. As we survey the unequal struggle are we content stolidly to pursue the same path—for the path of these two peoples tends and will tend to be essentially the same? Now we have at least one fine illustration of what business principle will effect when applied to public service, the Department of Agriculture, the work of the Experimental Farm system, of the Dairy Commissioner and the institution at Guelph. Doubtless if we knew the mind of the principal workers here we should find that they are hampered in countless petty details by patronage, but the total result does us credit. The same may be said on the whole of the postal service. Yet were this latter to be undertaken for the first time, who would suppose a government capable of administering it?

Turning to our own Province, it need not be supposed that the English system would have produced any better men than, say, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture and the Deputy Superintendent of Mines. But who does not see that the adoption of the English system is really the choice between two principles, one fundamentally wrong, the other fundamentally right—neither working with mathematical perfection? Why should not English civil service rules be applied at once to the staff of the Legislative buildings and possibly Osgoode Hall, and why should not permanent county commissioners composed of an equal number of responsible men of both political parties make the countless petty county appointments, to the relief of the Government, the members, the chairman of the county associations from the burden of constant, piffling, humiliating siege for place?

Now, if a survey of English history teaches us anything, it is surely this, (1) that reform in Canada can come only by appointing a permanent civil service commission of the highest quality. No Government can make or ought to be burdened with making the vast mass of routine appointments. Moreover, the general principle of expert commissions is destined more and more to obtain under democratic government; (2) It teaches us also that reform will have to be forced upon our legislatures. A ministry will wait long to find a mandate from its followers in the House for reform.

Governments ironically tell us that public opinion must be counted, not weighed. The truth is that they are placed in power to lead public opinion and to create it where it does not exist, and no Government is worth consideration that fails to recognize this.

But I shall be told that in our educational system we have an illustration of how civil service rules would work out, and this deserves some consideration. The departmental examinations may at first sight even appear to be an approach to the English civil service examinations. Now, anyone who has watched from within the operations of the vast machine which every summer determines the fate of some thousands of candidates must feel that the main anxiety is after all how to pass as many candidates as possible. One must admit that this tendency is perhaps more marked the higher we go. I am reminded of a story told of Mr. Chauncey Depew. At a public dinner a guest, who had once been the victim of that celebrated man's power of repartee, repaid him by moving a toast to him on this occasion. Reviewing his rapid success he congratulated him upon a humanitarian achievement. No sooner had he taken charge of a great railroad than he brought the stock within the reach of the poorest citizen of the United States. There certainly is a tendency in our educational system, which might extend to civil service examinations, to bring standards within reach of the humblest intellect of the Dominion.

But after all there is no commission involved here. Whether a commission would do better is of course a serious question.

But the vital objection which would be offered to competitive examinations for the civil service lies in the word itself. The very word examination is detested. It is felt that examination, as we know it, not only does not test the whole boy or man, but tends on the intellectual side to sterility. I fear we have here a defect in our whole educational system. We do not educate our pupils on all sides, and I personally fear that this defect is inseparable from all direct governmental control. In England the greatest school that feeds the service is Oxford. Now an Oxford examination is not perfect, but as a test of power I do not believe the like exists anywhere.

An examination may be made vastly more than a test of bulk contents. There is a human side to the English system. While the final flower of the applicants for the higher ranks of the civil service is alone considered, the Commission exercised to a certain extent private judgment. A recent article in the "Spectator" entitled "The Gate to the Navy," shows in a most instructive way how this is applied in an examination outside the civil service.

We need not believe that the English system is perfect, that Government patronage is extinct and that English politics are immaculate. But who cannot see that the introduction of such a civil service would be a landmark in national progress?

But the indirect results of such a reform would be even greater than the direct. From patronage flows a poison that infects our whole national life. We work in a vicious circle. We are in politics for petty place, for government advertising, for contracts, for legal work. We reach the

Legislature and are then the abject slaves of the miserable system out of which we rose. With many exceptions, in how many cases is this not the truth? In how many more where there was no thought of place at the outset, has not the lack of financial independence made it true at the close of a career!

But the civil service is only the smaller side of that public service which is the true glory of the motherland. What nation has ever possessed such a body of disinterested public service? It is true that this country is a country of working men, that there are comparatively few who can enter upon public life with financial independence. But it is equally true that many who can will not. The vast material prizes open to human energy in our great country at once absorb most of our constructive ability and constitute our gravest political danger for the immediate future. The problems of this great land are not parochial. We require commanding intellect in our parliaments. The most commanding ability will too often be arrayed against it. But much more do we need in our houses of parliament men built on the ground plan, unassailable by fear or favor, in the country at large outspoken public opinion and the serious consideration of questions on their merits, devoid of partisan madness. There is hardly anything so lacking in the political atmosphere of our country as the note of high seriousness. If we regard politics as a kind of hideous game why will not our politicians play the game? Why will men honorable in private life, when once immersed in politics resort to methods shameful in sport and tabooed in society? It is because the men who should be our leaders are politically craven and unworthy of the traditions of civil and political liberty which we inherit. We are often told by those who deplore the mournful tendencies in our public life that the prime cause is proximity to the United States. Others again lay it to the door of democracy and manhood franchise, others to party conflict. The ravages of partisanship are in deep melancholy, but none of these things is the ultimate cause of political corruption. If in democracy the madness of the many is the gain of the few, the reason is that many in their heart of hearts believe that the gain ultimately lies with them. It is because we are in the huckstering stage of our development when we put the largest apples on top, it is because the vulgar, ignorant man and the financial magnate alike prefer to snatch at the visible, personal gain of the moment, believing that they "have the universe at their backs," that corruption has attained so vast dimensions in the New World. At intervals, when some more conspicuous support to civilization is unearthed in the working of our party machines, here and there a party organ, shamed and exasperated, arraigns the inertness of public opinion. It is a commonplace of governments and in newspapers that they may not go further than the public opinion which they mirror. They would have society elevate itself by mechanical contrivance of its own boot-tops. After all what is this public opinion? It is made. The press or party leaders can raise it or

debauch it. In the mass we are not indeed as Carlyle put it "mostly fools," but we are imitative creatures. Here and there an individual strikes out in a new direction and we all follow. All progress is made by these successful deviations of a few. Higher ideals of human life slowly prevail because there is that in the heart of us all that responds to such a call. There were no hope for us if it were credible that the people of this country believed no higher than they acted politically. What we wait for is the call of the true-hearted public man across this partisan bedlam. By an infallible instinct we detect even when we applaud the false ring of hypocritical rhetoric, and we follow, even though reluctantly, the voice of sincerity. The material problems of Canada are vast and intricate, but we shall never lack the men to solve them. What we do lack is leadership—politicians of the grand style—that noble English conception of public service, the supreme flower of the many chequered centuries of our annals. No Vane or Hampden, no Chatham or Pitt, no Gladstone or Salisbury, ever called in vain. And to that end we need the expression of public opinion, the voice of each man in his place, whose conscience revolts, to break the deadly apathy which seems a characteristic danger of democracy.

(February 20, 1905.)

Trade With the Far East.

BY HON. T. NOSSE.

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—Before making the few remarks on what I have chosen to lay before you, I may say that I am afraid I am not up to the full mark of making any address before the gentlemen of this city. In the first place, the members of the different Japanese services are not brought up to make elaborate speeches. The members of the Consular service are only required to be silent and to be less excited than those of a few of the European powers and therefore, less apt to lead them into blunders of all kinds. The case is quite the reverse with the Japanese. We are always required to keep silent and to act, and not to speak, but to write. And being brought up thus, I am afraid my address this afternoon will be far from interesting to you, especially in view of those eloquent speeches during the last campaigns, one federal and the other Provincial.

If I may be allowed, I will refer to a few items of the prospects and future of trade in Japan. I am glad to find in this room Mr. George Anderson, who was in Japan a few years ago. He made while there quite exhaustive researches into the trade of the country and made elaborate reports thereon. No doubt most of the gentlemen here have read that report with interest.

Canadian trade in Japan so far is far from being satisfactory. The reason why, probably, you gentlemen well know. For instance, I may just give you what Canada exported to Japan during the past ten years. She has a very poor showing. Starting in 1895—that is the year that I began my connection with Canada, when I was transferred from Korea to Vancouver—in January, 1895, when I first came to British Columbia as representative of Japan and from that date my experience with Canada will begin, the total exports from Canada to Japan were but \$10,000. This magnificent Dominion, with five and a half millions of population only sent us, in 1895, exports amounting to \$10,000. In the year following, 1896, they fell to only \$8,000. I remind you that was the total export from Canada to Japan. In 1897 it rose to \$141,000—that is a good showing—while the following year, 1898, \$148,000 worth were exported. Then in 1899 it fell off to \$135,000; 1900, \$112,000; 1901, \$188,000; 1902, \$293,000; 1903, \$325,000; and in 1904, the year just ended, brings to us \$342,000. Of course there is a steady increase during the last ten years, but the year I came to Canada your total exports to Japan amounted to only \$10,000, and the next year \$8,000 and that from a country with a population of five and a half million people, with its vast resources in forest, mines, fisheries, and other things.

I may just refer to the fact why you made in 1897 the big jump from \$8,000 to \$141,000. It was owing to the exportation of British Columbia salmon to Japan and the opening up of a new trade in that respect. I believe it is the duty of a consular representative to look after the interests of the country in which at that time may be residing, as well as the interests of the country which he represents, and do all in his power to promote trade between the two countries. There is no reason why I should not look after the welfare and interests of the many friends among whom I might be living and try to make them profit, where there may be instances of so doing. Well, I happened to be aware that Japan needed a great deal of fish for consumption, and there are two species, the *dog salmon* and *steel head salmon*, two species which on account of their peculiar flavor cannot be sold readily in the English market, and fish men have rejected it. Well, I spoke to a countryman of mine, a friend of Mr. George Anderson, and we decided to have a trial shipment sent to Japan, and have the salmon cured in Japanese style—with head, tail and everything. You know we do not like having a fish come to the table minus its head and tail. We are bound to have the fish complete. Well, that idea extended to other things—to our army and navy. We must always have the head and tail complete. The first trial shipment of this particular fish was made in 1897, and amounted in that year to only \$1,098. In the next year it came to \$17,000. This fish appeared to have acquired the peculiar taste of our countrymen, and there has been a steady demand for fish cured in the same way. In 1897 it was but \$1,098; next year, \$17,000; the following year, 1899, \$40,000; in 1900, \$47,000; in 1901, \$97,000; in 1902, \$148,000; and in 1903, \$158,000. Last year happens to be a rather poor one, but we exported \$98,000 worth. So that, it has shown a very great increase, and it also shows that wherever you try to find a market, there you have something to sell. You could find goods within your own rivers and lakes, lands, forests and mines, but the trouble is you have not learnt just what the Japanese would require. I think that is well illustrated in Mr. Anderson's report. The fish has shown you some prospects of trade with Japan, which will always be permanent so long as we have not been conquered by some nation, and then we may change our taste.

I have been agitating for some years to find a market for flour in Japan, but it is not much so far. The first shipment of Canadian flour to Japan was made in 1898, but only amounted to \$30. I do not know how many packages were sent. (Laughter.) The next year none was sent; but in 1900 we sent only about \$6,400 worth of flour; in the year following \$8,400; then again in the year following, that is 1902, we sent none—I do not know why—and then in 1903 only about \$2,100, a great falling off.

The year before last we had a great national exhibition in Nagasaki, which lasted for six months. I took the trouble to induce your Federal

Government to join this exhibition simply for the purpose of advertising Canadian goods in Japan, and Mr. Fisher, the Minister of Agriculture, having taken a special interest in this movement, sent complete machinery for making bread on the spot, and the loaves were distributed. This demonstration had a wonderful success, I remind you, the exhibition took place the year before last, and last year the exportation of Canadian flour to Japan was \$140,000. Just ten years ago we sent none, and seven years ago we sent but \$30 worth. Last year you had the big jump from \$2,100, in the previous year, to \$140,000. But that is hardly accurate. The reason of this is a you know very well, that the Department of Trade and Commerce make reports ending the last day of June, so properly speaking this amount is only for half a year. From a private letter received from a friend of mine during last year, Canada exported Manitoba flour to the amount of six million pounds, so that it must be considerably over the amount mentioned, and I may safely say you should have exported \$250,000,000 worth of flour during the last year. The encouragement I am going to give you is that Japan's trade and import is yearly increasing, and I wonder why you intelligent gentlemen should not take the opportunity of the increase. In order to give you an idea that the import trade of Japan is increasing during the last thirty years, the total import trade of Japan from Europe, America and Asia in 1873 was \$11,000,000 in 1883, \$18,000,000; in 1893, \$45,000,000, and then a remarkable increase in the next ten years till in 1903, the year before last, the import trade had increased to \$160,000,000, and Canada may be enjoying one millionth, or something like it.

As you know, your friends across the boundary, on the south side, are always up to the point. (Laughter.) If I am addressing some of these American gentlemen here, of course it would be quite complimentary to them, but they have never been behind the occasion, they are always up-to-date. The increase of American exports is just paralleling the increase of Japan's imports. That is an important fact. United States exports to Japan in 1873 amounted to but \$500,000. That was 30 years ago. In 1883, ten years later, they had increased to \$1,500,000, or twenty years ago. In 1893 they were \$3,000,000, and ten years later, in 1903, the year before last, they had reached \$25,000,000. Thirty years ago, in 1873, Americans exported to us only \$500,000 worth, and the year before last it amounted to \$25,000,000, and it keeps on just apace with Japan's general increase of import trade, and then we have still room for \$1,000,000 of our imports, and also sums that follow up that figure. American trade interest in Japan has been remarkably successful during the last ten years.

I went to Saki to the first Japanese sale there in 1897, and I have not noticed any export of noticeable amount being made to Japan. Ever since then, Saki, situated as the centre of market for Japan, had been increasing their import trade from Chicago way down to Vancouver.

Probably you know that able business man in the person of Mr. James J. Hill, controlling the whole system of the Northern Pacific Railway, has made Vancouver the port of embarkation for his American goods to Japan. I may just tell you what the Northern Pacific has been carrying to Japan during the last ten years. Then I am giving you items specially, which, on account of your proximity to the American country could also be made on this side of the boundary. First of all there is wheat flour which could be produced here to any amount, hops, refined sugars, alcohol, distilled liquors—probably you Canadian gentlemen have very little surplus to send so far as distilled liquors are concerned, (Laughter)—tobacco and cigars, raw cotton manufactures—when it comes to cotton manufactures, they are sending us shirts, collars, cuffs, and everything of that kind, leather, hides, iron and steel, locomotives and cars, engines of every kind, machinery, tools, woods, furniture, and cabinet wares. The Standard Oil Company have captured Japan, not by the point of the bayonet, but by what is called the International Oil Trust Company in Japan, and then I may also add that tobacco and cigars under the control of the American Tobacco Company. They have an octopus, the heads or legs, or whatever they are called, which have for the last eight or nine years craved the whole market of Japan in tobacco, paper, lumber, canned meats, butter and milk, fruits and all kinds of hardware. The growth of American export of flour is most wonderful. I may just give a few items here. In 1899 they sent us but \$113,000 worth of American flour. In four years, they sent us flour worth \$2,250,000, and I believe last year they should have sent us \$3,500,000 worth. And especially, I am sure Mr. George Anderson would make a similar remark to what I am going to say, in these two dozen items we shall be able to compete with Americans so far as flour, meat, butter and milk, fruits, hides and leather, and so on are concerned, with greater advantage to ourselves. While looking over these items, you may find Americans have gained such a rapid increase in their import trade from the States to Japan, but it seems to me they are not contented yet, in spite of their having sent us the year before last \$160,000,000 worth, yet it seems they are not by any means satisfied. I see in the report made by Mr. Wilder J. Barron, of Schnectady, N.Y., in his private report made to the State Department, "We have some encouragement, however, in the fact that our sales to Japan increased 130 per cent. during the last ten years." That is a remarkable increase, but these gentlemen are not quite pleased to-day. He further says "Canada's sales to Japan are only one per cent. of the value of ours. That is quite true, but the fine showing made by Canada at the exhibition which we so lamentably neglected may do us great damage." Mr. J. J. Hill said recently: "It is only the want of American ships which prevents our entire surplus being shipped and sold in the shape of flour." The exhibit of the Canadian Government at the exhibition and later on the

appointment of a permanent commercial agent at Yokohama by the Federal Government also has done a great deal in increasing your trade, as we have already shown, in increase of Canadian exports of flour, and so on, during the last one or two years. Of course, your Government has done everything in their hands so far. It was not seriously heeded when Mr. George Anderson was there, and on coming home he made elaborate reports giving the great prospects of Canadian trade in Japan, and also in the Far East. But a mistake was that the Canadian Government did not follow up this report by appointing immediately commercial agents in Yokohama or in any other place. However, the Canadian Government having joined our Exhibition the year before last, has followed up that success by appointing a permanent commercial agent in Yokohama which will make things more steady and permanent, and I believe we can now rely upon this inauguration of Canadian trade in Japan to initiate permanent results.

The time that has been allotted to me having expired, I must hurry up. Well, after giving you a comparative statement, I may conclude by touching a little more on the subject. What I have been referring to has been practically to Japanese trade. But when it comes to trade, when I include in this trade of Japan, Korea and China, with its vast territory and resources, of course including Manchuria (Applause), well you must see for yourselves that there is a great industrial opening awaiting for you as the outcome of this war. Of course it would be rather early for us to discuss any subject dependent on the termination of this war, but if war may continue victorious on the Japanese side, which I am not quite sure of, but if it keeps on victorious, and if honorable peace negotiations can be carried out, and Japan be allowed to retain the possession she may have secured, with Korea under the protection of Japan, its trade would be open to international nations, and Manchuria, just as any of you gentlemen might suppose, would be open to the interests of trade, and that would be the only safeguard for ourselves, and also to China, and it would prove the permanent peace of the East and also of the world.

Well, I am giving you these items in connection with Japan, a small country with 45 millions, but think of the prospect when we come to the general opening of the whole Empire of China, including Manchuria and Korea, with its four or five hundred millions. What is known to yourselves at present as China is only a coastways country and bits of the country being sometimes probably ten or twenty miles wide and so-called Treaty Ports, where Europeans are residing only to carry on their trade. We know nothing of China beyond the thirty miles inland from the nearest coast ports. We know nothing about Mongolia and Manchuria, China proper, with its immense resources, never opened since historical times, for 5,000 years or more. You heard once or twice of mining resources here and there in China, but there are known to be in China, Mongolia and Manchuria areas abundant with almost

every kind of minerals, gold, silver, copper, coal and so on. When this country, now a perfectly forbidden region, is all open to the foreign trade, there will be a tremendous boom, which you could not expect even in Darkest Africa, were opened to your trade, and with these fine resources, of yours, fine climate, and country, with consumers right at your hand, well, you have been supplying China with your goods of modern fashions, but they have not reached one-tenth, I may say one-thousandth of China's population.

Years ago I travelled within seventeen miles distance from the nearest distance from the nearest coast, and I found there Chinese trading in empty boxes of Canadian salmon, and one gentleman, a Mandarin, probably drawing \$100,000 salary from the chief government and living up to this point, ignorant of what these empty tins of salmon were, and he traded for one and had it furnished, using it for a casket for his jewels. That was when I was there fifteen years ago. Fifteen years have not made much change in China, and it may as well remain so. Then I may speak of—I am sorry to keep you waiting—the true motive of Japan having gone to war ten years ago against China. I was stationed in Korea ten years ago, so I have studied up all these matters concerning the war between the two countries. Japan's ambition was not for annexation or grabbing the surrounding neighborhood, as we found our northern neighbors in Japan have been so very anxious to do, but Japan's ambition in China is commercial development, and also industrial development. Ten years ago our trouble with China was caused by China's refusal to open Korea to Japan's trade. We tried to open the country, and we succeeded so far in that our scheme was baffled by a combination of Russia, Germany and France who compelled Japan to give up Port Arthur and adjacent territories, which is another origin of our trouble with Russia just at the present juncture. Japan, with its 45,000,000 population must find a market for Japanese goods for importation, and there are Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia which would take our goods into their country, and so we are not only fighting for our independence and expansion, but also for our ambition to effect our commercial and industrial development in these vast territories of Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia. Of course, it is too much to say what the outcome of this war will be, but if, as I have said, success crowns Japan's efforts to the very end, Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia will most surely be opened to international trade, and that will carry out our ambition commercially and industrially, and it would not only work as a bulwark against further invasion of our northern neighbors against Japan, but it would help our natural growth of trade and industry. Then a moment would come, I have to warn you, gentlemen, the time would come after the peace treaty would be made—I do not know whether it would decide against or for Japan—but if it goes for Japan, these countries would be opened and Japan, with the help of England and the United

States, would probably induce China to open up her country, too—under the protection of the powers, ensuring against the partition of China and the general disorganization of China's Empire. I may say that Canadian business people have been losing a great many opportunities offered to them, but this last opportunity may not come again in the future. They should grasp this the first opportunity of the opening up of China, and Manchuria, and I am sure Canada would find an immense market probably with your surplus goods, flour and other goods, and there would hardly be enough to supply the keen and strong demand from this quarter. I am sorry I have kept you, gentlemen, rather too long here. I feel myself highly honored with the gentlemen that are so very interested in trade and commerce for having heard me in any scant ideas of my own. I only hope in future in my official capacity if any of you gentlemen who may have some ambition or prospects of trying your fortune further out in the East desire it, I hope I may be in a position if not to help you, at least able to supply you with items of advice which may help you gentlemen to acquire a measure of success.

(February 27, 1905.)

Northwest Autonomy and the School Question

By J. S. WILLISON.

The subject on which I have undertaken to speak to-day is one of great complexity and difficulty, particularly in its constitutional aspect. It would seem that the human mind can conceive nothing which may not be supported by legal argument or held to be in conformity with an existing statute or the intention of the Legislature. This impression of the layman receives additional emphasis when political expediency governs in the interpretation of a statute or the reading of a constitution. We have had, for example, in the educational clauses of the British North America Act, a source of misunderstanding and of confusion which has not made for national solidity and more than once has filled the land with the angry clamor of violent sectarian controversy, we have had during the whole period of Confederation a resolute and unceasing effort to read into the constitution a guarantee of sectarian schools for every Province of Confederation and a steady denunciation of those who insist upon a different interpretation and contend for the right of the Provinces to control over education, subject to their conception of the constitutional limitations, as zealots and bigots and mischievous traders in racial and religious

prejudices. It is necessary, therefore, to investigate the origin of Separate Schools in Canada, and to trace the evolution of the Canadian Constitution.

As early as 1841, when the first attempt was made to establish a system of schools in Upper Canada, the right of Separate Schools was obtained by the advocates of dogmatic religious teaching. This privilege was recognized in the first Common School Act for the Province, which was passed five years later. But, it was not until 1852 that the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics entered upon an active struggle for the extension of the separate system. Up to that year only fifty Separate Schools had been established, and thirty-two of these had lapsed in the three years preceding. Thirteen of those remaining were Roman Catholic Separate Schools; three were Protestant, two of these in French districts and two were maintained for colored children in Kent and Essex. In 1853 the provisions for Separate Schools were revised and extended, and all supporters of such schools were exempted from local or municipal school rates. Hitherto they had shared only in the legislative grant, and county school tax. But no part of the municipal assessment could be applied for Separate School purposes, and no municipal officer could be employed to collect rates for their support. The whole Separate School movement was strenuously resisted by George Brown and his allies, while Bishop Carbonnel was as determined to secure absolute authority over the education of Catholic children, and to establish Separate Schools wherever they could be supported. In 1856 the Bishop declared in a Pastoral Letter that "Catholic electors, who do not use their electoral power on behalf of Separate Schools, are guilty of mortal sin, likewise parents who do not make the sacrifices necessary to secure such schools or send their children to mixed schools."

From year to year the school law was amended in minor particulars. Separate Schools increased in number from 13 in 1852, to 100 in 1858, and the clerical agitation for still more generous facilities for their support and organization was maintained with unabated vigor. Dr. Ryerson protested against the interference of priests and bishops belonging to Lower Canada with the school system of Upper Canada, and denounced "this double aggression by Roman Catholic bishops and their supporters, in assailing on the one hand our Public Schools and school system, and invading what has been acknowledged as sacred constitutional rights of individuals and municipalities, and, on the other hand, in demanding the erection and support at the public expense of a Roman Catholic hierarchical school system." Finally, in 1860, the Hon. R. W. Scott, then representing Ottawa in the United Parliament, and now leader of the Senate, introduced a Separate School bill, which after sustaining three defeats in successive years, was adopted with modifications in 1863, and is the general basis of the law which now exists. In the final vote the representatives of Upper Canada gave ten of a majority against the measure, and it was thus im-

posed upon this Province by a majority from Quebec. This in Ontario was the position at Confederation, while in Quebec Protestant Public Schools were maintained by the non-Catholic elements of the population. And it is interesting to remember that in 1853 and 1854, in order to improve his English, Wilfrid Laurier was a pupil of the Protestant elementary school at New Glasgow, in L'Assomption County.

According to Pope's Confederation documents, the question of education was first raised at the Quebec Conference on October 24th, 1864. It was then moved by Hon. Oliver Mowat, "that it shall be competent for the local Legislatures to make laws respecting (1) agriculture, (2) education, (3) emigration," and various other subjects therein-after enumerated. On the next day it was moved by Hon. D'Arcy McGee, and the motion was accepted, that "the following words be added to item 2: Education, saving the rights and privileges which the Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their denominational schools at the time when the Constitutional Act goes into operation." In these words the delegates, at the close of their deliberations, made deliverance on the subject of education, and it seems, therefore, to be conclusively established that the Quebec Conference intended that the constitutional limitations upon Provincial control over education should apply only to Ontario and Quebec. It must be remembered also that the conference which recommended this clause for insertion in the constitution made provision for the incorporation of British Columbia, Rupert's Land and Northwest Territory in the New Commonwealth.

But to Sir A. T. Galt, not to McGee or Mowat, we trace the educational clauses in the Confederation settlement. Galt was a resolute foe of hierarchical pretensions, a vigilant champion of the rights and interests of the English minority in Quebec, and throughout all his public career a formidable figure in the political life of the country. He was Minister of Finance in the coalition Government, which was organized to carry Confederation, but resigned office in 1866 on account of its failure to pass legislation securing to the English minority of Lower Canada a fair share of the public funds for Protestant schools and a Protestant Board of Education. It must be remembered that no system of Public Schools existed in Quebec as in Ontario. In Ontario the schools of the majority were non-sectarian, and open alike to Protestant and Catholic, without offence to religious susceptibilities. In Quebec the schools of the majority were strictly Roman Catholic, devoted to the teaching of Roman Catholic dogma, and under the practical, if not the complete control of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The position was clearly stated in a petition to the Throne from the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Lower Canada, which was forwarded while the Canadian delegates were in London advising with the Imperial authorities upon the terms of the Confederation settlement. They represented that, "under the educational law of Lower

Canada, and in consequence of the denominational character of the schools of the Roman Catholic majority, your Majesty's subjects professing the Protestant faith are subjected to serious disadvantages: first, in being deprived of the benefits of a general system of education similar to that enjoyed by their fellow subjects in Upper Canada; secondly, in their liability to be taxed for the support of the Roman Catholic schools; and thirdly, in the difficulties which they experience in establishing non-denominational or Separate Schools and seminaries of higher education for themselves." They argued that the result of this condition of affairs was to discourage the settlement of Protestants in Lower Canada, and to cause many families to leave the country. They pointed out that pledges were made by members of the Government that the grievances under which they labored would be remedied by Parliamentary action, and that though a bill for that purpose was introduced by Government at the last session, it was almost immediately withdrawn and that unless provision to this end was introduced into the Imperial Act of Confederation there was grave fear that their educational rights would be left to the control of the majority in the local Legislature without any guarantee whatever. They declared frankly that they would prefer a general and non-denominational system of education, but that "so long as the present system of Separate Schools shall continue in Lower Canada," they must claim as constitutional rights that all direct taxes for the support of schools paid by Protestants should be applied to Protestant or non-denominational education, that all public money given for the same purpose should be divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics in proportion to population, and that just and proper safeguards for the effective protection of their educational interests should be introduced into the Act of Confederation. This was the situation with which Galt had to deal, and this the position of the minority, for whose interests he was concerned. In Ontario if a school section contained only a single Catholic child it could attend the Public School without impediment or embarrassment, while in Quebec there were, as there still are, whole counties where absolutely no provision exists for the education of isolated Protestant families. Galt, too, was distrustful of the Quebec Legislature, and fearful that the securities required by the Protestant minority would not be established under the Local Constitution, or would be established under conditions which would not give the necessary guarantee of permanence. Hence, at the London Conference on December 5th, 1866, Galt moved "That the following words be added to and form part of the 6th subsection of the 43rd clause: 'and in any Province where a system of Separate or Dissident schools by law obtains, or where the local Legislature may hereafter adopt a system of Separate or Dissident Schools, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-in-Council of the General Government from the acts and decisions of the local authorities which may affect the rights or privileges of the Protestant or Catholic minority in the mat-

ter of education. And the General Parliament shall have power in the last resort to legislate on the subject.''' Thus was developed the guarantees for the Protestant minority of Quebec, where, as has been said, no Public Schools existed, and hence the clauses which the Roman Catholic hierarchy have employed in the endeavor to secure certain constitutional rights under the Public School law of New Brunswick, to create and perpetuate Separate Schools in Manitoba, and to establish and endow a Separate School system in the Western Territories.

The first appeal taken under these clauses of the new constitution came from the Roman Catholic minority of New Brunswick. This Province at Confederation had no Separate Schools, but religious teaching under liberal regulations was permitted in the schools established in Roman Catholic communities. In 1871 the Legislature passed a law prohibiting such religious teaching in the common schools and under Galt's clauses, permitting an appeal to the central Government against any act or decision of local authorities affecting the rights or privileges of a Protestant or Catholic minority, the disallowance of the Provincial legislation was demanded. The Legislature resisted the demand, passed resolutions asserting the exclusive authority of the Province over the question of education, resolving that its jurisdiction and powers should not be curtailed without the express sanction of the people at the polls, and declaring that without the consent of the Legislature the Imperial Parliament or the Parliament of Canada ought not to interfere. And upon appeal to the constituencies the local Government was decisively sustained. Sir John Macdonald, as Minister of Justice, in answer to the demand for disallowance said: "The Act complained of is an Act relating to common schools, and the Acts repealed by it apply to parish grammar, superior, and common schools. No reference is made in them to Separate, dissentient, or denominational schools, and the undersigned does not, on examination, find that any statute of the Province exists establishing such special schools." This position was sustained by the law officers of the Crown, and while the controversy extended over several years and both sets of politicians maneuvered in familiar fashion for the position of advantage and the clerical demand was insistent and importunate, there was no serious attempt at Federal interference with the Provinces, and that clearly was the intention of Sir John Macdonald from the beginning.

The second appeal was from the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba, prosecuted under circumstances with which the whole country is familiar, and with disastrous results to one of the great political organizations. The Province of Manitoba was created in 1870 and clerical intrigue and French influence marked every act and incident in the negotiations for its incorporation into the Confederation. One result was that in so far as these seemed to be adaptable to the designs of the clerical agents the educational clauses of the British North America Act were inserted in the Act under which Manitoba was erected into a Province of the

Dominion. In obedience to the terms, or at least the intention of the Act, in 1871 a system of Separate Schools was established for the new Province, not by voluntary action of the people, but by virtue of Federal compulsion. The Province, however, developed as a Protestant and English-speaking community, and in 1890, during a time of exceptional tension over racial and sectarian issues, the Separate School system was abolished by the Legislature. It must be remembered that there was no public system of education in Manitoba prior to the organization of the Province in 1870 and that such denominational schools as existed were supported by the voluntary contributions of the various communions. But under the system of education established in 1871, and which was distinctly denominational, the Roman Catholics of Manitoba received as liberal treatment as the Catholics of Ontario. The first sub-section of the twenty-second section of the Manitoba Act declares that the Province shall not have power to pass any legislation which "shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the Province at the union." This was doubtless intended to give a constitutional guarantee for Separate Schools in Manitoba; but when the appeal taken by the Catholic minority made its way through the Canadian courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, it was there decided that the legislation of 1890 was constitutional inasmuch as the only right or privilege which Roman Catholics then enjoyed was the right or privilege of establishing such schools as they preferred, and maintaining these by their own contributions.

A second appeal was then taken under sub-section two of the twenty-second section of the Manitoba Act, which provides that "an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General-in-Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province, or of any Provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education." The Supreme Court decided that, even under this section, no right of interference was vested in the central Government, and mainly upon the grounds that every presumption must be made in favor of the constitutional right of a legislative body to repeal the laws which it has itself enacted, and that an enactment irrevocably held by the Judicial Committee to be *intra vires* could not have illegally affected any of the rights and privileges of the Catholic minority. The Judicial Committee, however, reversed this judgment, and found that the Governor-General-in-Council has jurisdiction in the premises, but added: "The particular course to be pursued must be determined by the authorities to whom it has been committed by the statute. It is not for this tribunal to intimate the precise steps to be taken. Their general character is sufficiently defined by the third sub-section of section twenty-two of the Manitoba Act." This sub-section provides for action by the Governor-General-in-Council in case a Provincial Government fails or refuses to remedy grievances of a religious minority occasioned by Provincial

legislation, and authorizes the Parliament of Canada to make remedial laws for the due execution of such measures as may be adjudged necessary in the circumstances. But, while the Judicial Committee declined to give explicit direction to the Federal authority, they closed their judgment with these pregnant sentences: "It is certainly not essential that the statutes repealed by the Act of 1890 should be re-enacted, or that the precise provisions of these statutes should again be made law. The system of education embodied in the Acts of 1890 no doubt commends itself to, and adequately supplies the wants of, the great majority of the inhabitants of the Province. All legitimate ground of complaint would be removed if that system were supplemented by provisions which would remove the grievances upon which the appeal is founded, and were modified so far as might be necessary to give effect to these provisions."

Fortified by this judgment, the Liberal Government of Manitoba, whose Attorney-General is now Minister of the Interior in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Cabinet, and as such especially responsible for the welfare of the Western Territories, declared that under no circumstances would it sanction the restoration of the Separate School system, and refused absolutely to obey the remedial order issued by the Federal authorities. The Provincial Ministers, however, professed every disposition to consider and remove any grievance or injustice under which the minority could be shown to labor, and to modify any harsh features in the existing regulations of the Provincial Department of Education, if such could be established. We can all recall the exciting election contest of 1896, and it is instructive to remember that the party ranged behind the remedial order commanding the restoration of Separate Schools in Manitoba was led by the statesmen who had abolished Separate Schools in Nova Scotia and that the leader of the forces opposed to the coercion of Manitoba was the statesmen who now proposes to guarantee Separate Schools in the Western Territories forever by order and authority of the Federal Parliament. How rapidly a politician changes in office! You may still know him by his photograph, but seldom by his attitude towards public questions. As a result of the election the Conservative Government was defeated, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into office. At once negotiations were opened between the Federal authorities and the Manitoba Government, and a satisfactory compromise, by which the Public School system of the Province was maintained inviolate, was quickly and easily arranged.

The agreement, as finally reached and as embodied in the statutes of Manitoba, provides that when authorized by a resolution, passed by a majority of the trustees of the district in which the school is situated, or upon a petition presented to the trustees by the parents or guardians of ten children attending a rural school, or of twenty-five children attending a city, town, or village school, there shall be religious teaching, such religious teaching shall take place between the hours of 3.30 and 4.00 o'clock in the afternoon, and shall be conducted by any Christian clergy-

man whose charge includes any portion of the school district, or by any person duly authorized by such clergyman, or by a teacher when so authorized. Where so specified by resolution or petition, religious teaching during the prescribed period shall take place only on certain specified days of the week, instead of on every teaching day. In schools in towns and cities, where the average attendance of Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty-five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by the parents or guardians of such number, of Roman Catholic children respectively, employ at least one duly certificated Roman Catholic teacher, and similarly in towns and cities where the average attendance of non-Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the attendance of such children is twenty-five or upwards, a non-Roman Catholic teacher shall be employed. Where the school-room accommodation does not permit of the pupils being placed in separate rooms for the purposes of religious teaching, provision is made by the regulations of the Department of Education, whereby the time allotted for religious teaching is divided in such a way that the religious teaching of Roman Catholic children is carried on during the prescribed time on one-half of the teaching days of each month, and of non-Roman Catholic children during an equal period. During the secular school work no separation of children by religious denominations is allowed. Where the school accommodation permits, the pupils may be placed in separate rooms for religious teaching. Children whose parents do not desire their attendance upon religious exercises must remain in another room, or be dismissed before such exercises are begun. Where ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language, or any language other than English as their native language, the teaching must be conducted in French, or such other language, and English, upon the bi-lingual system. That was a liberal, comprehensive and statesmanlike settlement of a difficult situation, accomplished without impairing the integrity or efficiency of the Public School system, and without exercise of Federal legislative authority. In the four or five years succeeding the settlement nearly fifty Roman Catholic schools were changed into Public Schools, while as many new Public Schools, employing French and Roman Catholic teachers, have been established. Outside of Winnipeg no Separate Schools now exist in Manitoba, and it seems certain that in Winnipeg a satisfactory arrangement will yet be effected, and the Separate School buildings taken over and utilized for public purposes.

Thus, in Manitoba all elements of the population attend a common school, racial and sectarian differences are softened, and a common citizenship and a common patriotism are developed. All this has high national value, particularly in a community which embraces the representatives of many creeds and races, and where so much depends upon a common language, free intercourse, and a common conception of the duties of citizenship.

Even with the guarantees provided by Galt's educational clauses in the British North America Act, it seems to be settled by the deliverances of the Privy Council in the Manitoba appeals that a Province—always excluding Ontario and Quebec—cannot be forced to establish a Separate School system, and that all the fair obligations of the Constitution are fulfilled by provisions in the Public School law which protect a minority from offence to their faith, or infringement upon their religious susceptibilities. Galt held that under the exceptional conditions which surrounded the English population in Quebec the guarantee of Separate Schools was essential, but it is inconceivable that he would have taken this ground if there had been any prospect that Lower Canada would establish and maintain a non-denominational Public School system, such as exists in Ontario, in Manitoba, and in the Maritime Provinces. But whatever may have been Galt's interpretation of the meaning, intention and scope of the educational clauses of the British North America Act, there was one other man who sat in the Quebec Conference, who was exceedingly influential in the coalition Government which established Confederation, who was one of the four delegates sent to London to confer with the Imperial authorities on the proposed constitutional change who was peculiarly interested in the question of education, and throughout a great force in settling the terms of the Act of union, and who seems to have had a very positive conviction that outside of Ontario and Quebec it was intended that the Provinces should have exclusive control over education. This man was George Brown, and it is singular that he should be quoted in support of the measure now before Parliament. In 1875, when the Act establishing the Territorial Government was before the Senate, Brown protested against the extension of the Separate School system to the Territories. He contended that "This provision was quite contrary to the British North America Act." "Nothing was more clear," he said, "than that each Province should have absolute control over education. He thought that was the only principle upon which the Union Act could continue. If the Dominion Government interfered with local matters we would get into inextricable confusion with the Provinces. The safe way for us was to let each Province suit itself in such matters. This country was filled by people of all classes and creeds, and there would be no end of confusion if each class had to have its own peculiar school system. It had been said this clause was put in for the protection of the Protestants against the Catholics the latter being the most numerous. But he, speaking for the Protestants, was in a position to say that we did not want that protection. In this case it was proposed that the national machinery should be used for the imposition and collection of taxes upon persons of peculiar denominations for the support of schools of their kind. It was an attempt to force upon that country peculiar views with regard to education."

It is true that Brown contended that from the moment the Act passed and the Western Territories became part of the union "they came under

the Union Act and under the provisions with regard to Separate Schools." But we are concerned with his statement of the intention of the founders of Confederation rather than with his legal opinion. Besides his position is not sustained by the judgment of the Privy Council in the Manitoba cases. Further it is surely an extraordinary contention that the Canadian Parliament cannot repeal a statute which it was under no compulsion to enact and still more extraordinary assumption that the four millions of people in older Canada who now maintain Separate School systems shall undertake to determine for all time what shall be the character of the local institutions over Territories which in half a century may have double the population which these older Provinces now possess. It has been said that "unsettled questions have no pity for the repose of nations," and for that pregnant statement we shall find support in the history of seigniorial tenure in Quebec and of the clergy reserves in Upper Canada. There is a story of a Tammany politician who lobbied a Senator in order to secure his support for a particular concession and when told by the Senator that the Act would be unconstitutional, insisted that the constitution should not be allowed to interfere between friends. In this case the constitution is being employed to limit the freedom of Canadian citizens and to buy the present peace of politicians at the certain cost of future strife and trouble for the nation. What availed constitutional provisions and congressional compacts to preserve the institution of slavery in defiance of the sentiment of the American people? What will avail constitutional restrictions and political compromises to maintain clerical privilege and denominational ascendancy in Western Canada if the free air of this continent, in the future as in the past, nourishes the high spirit of freedom and equality? If we say that the Separate Schools now established in the West, requiring, as they do, certificated teachers and authorized text books, are less objectionable than any similar school established elsewhere in Canada, there is all the more reason to recognize the genius of the West for liberal and efficient self-government, and all the more reason that we over nationalism and to set aside even the proceeds of their school lands for purposes of sectarian education.

The Church fights long and hard and its purposes persist through the centuries. Even the Iron Chancellor of Germany lost his battle with the Hierarchy. All over the world this institution has been the resolute foe of popular education and the aggressive pretender to sovereignty in State affairs. In Ontario even in recent years it has broken up Public Schools, destroyed harmonious agreements between Protestants and Roman Catholics for common school purposes, and is now demanding increase of revenue even from enterprises in which only the capital of Protestants is invested. Why should we think that it will be otherwise in the West and proceed to strengthen its position by constitutional preference and financial endowment. Nowhere is the education provided in the Separate Schools as efficient as that of the Public Schools, and I speak whereof I know,

though unsolicited testimony, when I assert that many Roman Catholic citizens and lay Catholic educationists are gravely dissatisfied with the conditions of elementary Catholic education in this Province, while even in Quebec there are significant signs that an increasing number of the French-Canadian people feel that their educational system is unfitted for the needs of an industrial continent, and a serious detriment to the material progress of the community. The future of this country depends largely upon the measure of success which we shall achieve in resolving the many nationalities which comprise its population into a common Canadian citizenship, and it is vain to argue that that process will be served by a school system which makes for separation rather than for union. When we consider the composite population which is pouring into that wide land from every corner of the earth, we think of Pentecost, where was found "Parthians and Medes and Elamites and the dwellers in Mesopotamia and in Judea and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Egypt and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians"—and the faith we cherish is that as the years pass, rich in achievement and in contentment, we may hear "every man in our own tongue, wherein we were born."

(*March 6, 1905.*)

Patriotism and History

BY PROF. CHAS. W. COLBY.

The subject upon which I wish to address you is suggested partly by the aims of your club and partly by the nature of my own profession. It is well known all over Canada that in this place you not only eat excellent lunches, but discuss with serious intent matters which are of consequence to the whole Dominion. Patriotism is, indeed, the very corner stone of your institution, the motive force of your society, the firm bond which holds you together. Nor, on the other hand, can the student of history neglect patriotism, which has so long been one of the most potent factors in the life of mankind. It must be confessed that at times both patriotism and history have been made a target for innuendo. In the eighteenth century, for example, Walpole uttered his famous sarcasm, "Read me anything but history, for history must be false," and Walpole's contemporary, Dr. Johnson, was equally severe on patriots when he declared that patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel. Doubtless there have been in the past many slipshod and lying historians, many selfish and insincere patriots; but for the present we may pass these by as I wish to deal only with sound history and genuine patriotism.

I have heard it urged more than once that the rank and file of Canadians would be more loyal citizens if patriotism were more carefully taught as a lesson in the days of boyhood. We are not infrequently reminded of the efforts which are made throughout the United States to instil love of country at the same moment with the elements of spelling. The flag waving over the schoolhouse, the exercises in elocution which revive the perorations of Patrick Henry, of Webster and of Lincoln, the services on Decoration Day and the transformation of the old New England Fast Day into Patriot's Day are among the things which must certainly tend to strike the youthful imagination. Outside Japan there is probably no part of the globe where national pride and enthusiasm are stronger than in the United States. Those in Canada who have observed this phenomenon and who hold it up for our emulation often speak of the part that it played in the creation of loyalists by the elementary text book of history. The whole argument resolves itself to this: Firstly, that a somewhat militant spirit of patriotism is desirable; and, secondly, that the historical manual should be used as a means of setting forth in picturesque and convincing fashion the facts which help to glorify the national past or the arguments which go to defend the national cause. Those who repeat with unction the sentiment, "our country, right or wrong," would doubtless be content to have a colored, one-sided version of the national annals presented to children in public schools through the medium of the elementary manual.

Now what is the attitude of the professional historian toward this state of mind, towards this form of patriotism? I need hardly say that during the past two generations an attempt has been made by leading students of the past to render the investigation and the writing of history impartial, colorless and scientific. The ideal is that the historian should have, so far as is humanly possible, the disinterestedness of the dead; that he should not set forth the results of his researches with a view to justifying any special cause, or even to vindicate the record of his own ancestors. The spirit of exact science has so far impressed itself upon historians as to make them shun exaggeration, keep themselves in the background and let the facts, after they have been rigidly determined, speak for themselves. Truth is the ideal—not patriotism, nor even religion.

One, of course, is familiar with many lapses from this high standard on the part of famous historians in recent times. Mommsen, when exalting the character of Julius Caesar; Droysen, when defending the memory of Frederick the Great; Von Sybel, when describing the establishment of the German Empire; and Treitschke, when reviling England, illustrate the pressure of human infirmity even among the Germans, who are the reputed authors of historical science. Yet the ideal, though difficult of realization, remains, and with the most reputable historians it

has become a point of self-respect to guard against the expression of one's own personal feeling. I can illustrate what I mean by reference to the letters of Bishop Stubbs which have just been published. In his familiar correspondence, Stubbs was by no means reticent in expressing his views on historical subjects. Naturally, his mind had a strong bias; or perhaps one ought rather to say he entered the world with the convictions of a High Churchman and a Tory. In one of his letters to Freeman he states that it is quite impossible for a Dissenter to write a good history of England. In politics, academic and national, his views were expressed frequently in verses and epigrams. During the war of Italian independence, he was strongly opposed to the cause of United Italy, and says whatever he on behalf of the Austrians. Yet, when it came to writing his Constitutional History of England, Stubbs, without obliterating his own personality, masked his prepossessions completely. There is no one now living who is more familiar with that great book than Prof. F. W. Maitland, and, in his admirable article on Stubbs in the *English Historical Review*, Maitland states that he could not have formed any opinion from a most careful reading of the three volumes as to how Stubbs would have voted. "If I had hazarded a guess," he concludes, "it would have been the wrong one."

Under modern conditions, then, it would be difficult to find a decent historian who would undertake to write a school manual with the fixed intent of justifying the national cause,—that is to say, of presenting part of the truth as though it were the whole truth, against which nothing could be urged. I have referred already to the patriotism of people in the United States. There is still current the belief that this feeling is stimulated by the version given in school histories of the Revolutionary War and the war of 1812. But, so far as I can make out, after some investigation of the subject, there is good ground to suppose that in the Eastern States and throughout the Middle West the standard text books are not seriously warped by patriotic prejudice. I looked into this matter at the time of the Venezuela incident with a view to preparing an article on the subject, but found that there would be little ground for stricture. And, when I wrote to Mr. W. P. Garrison, the editor of the *Nation*, asking that he would collect for me ten or fifteen of the manuals on English and American History which were then most in vogue, he replied that he would do so gladly if I wished, but expressed his own surprise on finding how fair in tone the average manual of American History now was in dealing with these subjects. In going outside the field of manuals, it is really States which is somewhat hostile to Great Britain. But whether or not amusing to see how American writers like the late Moses Coit Tyler and Prof. Hart and Mr. Henry Adams write on the events of 1775 from what seems like the English standpoint; whereas Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. Justin McCarthy approach the same subject in mood of sympathy with the revolted Colonies.

The Middle West is frequently regarded as a part of the United States. This be the fact, I am quite convinced that the historians are not responsible for keeping alive the memory of ancient grudges. For example, in a recent book on modern history, Prof. W. M. West, of the University of Minnesota, takes for the motto of his chapter on the British Empire this saying of Admiral Dewey: "After many years of wandering I have come to the conclusion that the mightiest factor in the civilization of the world is the imperial policy of England." Here, certainly, there is no note of hostility, nor has historical criticism won any more signal triumph during the past twenty-five years than is represented by the increased candor of the school histories now used throughout the civilized world.

We all recognize, I imagine, the existence of patriotism under two forms: Under the lower form of beating the big drum or waving the bloody flag; and under the higher form of doing something for one's country. The Countess von Arnim, with delicious satire, touches off this quality in the average Prussian of to-day. Elizabeth in Rugen alludes to some Prussian victory of which her maid, Gertrude, is profoundly ignorant, but the latter rises to the occasion and on this reference to a Prussian victory looks as one "who inwardly swells." Of course we are all subject to the same sort of feeling more or less, but if, in Canada, we had less to say about our illimitable resources and worked with steadfast purpose to have the most irreproachable politics in the world, our patriotism would not be slumbering the while. Nor is the connection of history with the higher patriotism less close than it is with the screaming of the eagle or the roaring of the lion.

There is no country of the world where, so far as my own knowledge goes, a sounder type of patriotism is to be met with than exists in Switzerland. The connection between the Alps and the spirit of freedom is very old, but the modern Swiss do not live upon the reputation of Morgarten, Naefels and Sempach. It would be a breach of truth to say that Swiss history is without its grave blemishes. The willingness with which, for example, the peasants of the forest cantons sold their swords for centuries to the highest bidders justified the old proverb, *Pas d'argent, pas de Suisses*; while the government of subject lands like the Argon, Ticino and Vaud by the confederates was nothing short of tyrannical. But the Switzerland of to-day, stimulated by its noble traditions and profiting by its experience of past errors, is really an object lesson to the world. It has twice been my privilege to attend the Swiss *Landsgemeinde*, that ancient assembly still existing in seven cantons, which represents the ancient German freedom in its purest form. Freeman begins his "Growth of the English Constitution" with a fervid description of the gathering in which the men of Uri, year by year, from the first Sunday in May, make their own laws and choose their own magistrates. The picture as he draws it is by no means over colored so far as the dignity of the occasion and the emotions of the spectator are concerned. It is indeed a solemn moment when one stands "face to face for the first time with freedom in

its purest and most ancient form." Obviously, this kind of gathering does not suffice for the needs of a large democratic community and in the more populous cantons it has been given up, but apparently the public spirit of Berne and Zurich is not less than that of Uri and Glarns. Switzerland is a land of peace and yet a country which probably possesses the best militia force of its size anywhere. Swiss neutrality has been guaranteed by every one of the great powers, but the republic, with France and Germany for neighbours, does not place too much reliance in promises. At the *Landsgemeinde* of Uri each citizen appears with his sword at his side—the sword which the law compels him to wear and forbids him to draw. This, however, is a mere survival. Of more practical moment is the regulation which requires every citizen to have a rifle and 40 rounds of ammunition constantly in his house. The Swiss militia is the male part of the nation and can be mobilized for the defense of the frontier at a moment's notice. Nowhere is target practice a more popular sport. Whether he goes to the rifle range or to the polling booth on Sunday afternoon, the Swiss citizen feels that he is performing his civic duties and these are, for the most part, discharged in a spirit worthy of the day.

I refer to Switzerland merely for the sake of illustration and because it is a land where people, without being aggressive, know how to protect themselves, as in civic life they know how to govern themselves without recourse to wholesale bribery and corruption. Such public spirit as is displayed in this small and vigorous land, which was the first part of Europe outside isolated towns, to escape from feudalism, must be encouragement to those who believe that the noise of patriotism is often in inverse ratio to the emotion.

There is a phrase which Mr. Morley may have used when addressing you last fall, as it is one he is rather fond of. He says that he is often accused of being the friend of every country but his own. The historian, likewise, in trying to place things in proper perspective, must guard himself against this same charge. So far as Canada is concerned, history ought to have a large part in the national life—indeed, a much larger part than it has at present. Perhaps I can express what I mean best under the form of a slight anecdote. A classmate of my own has since become an eminent mining engineer, whose duties take him to many parts of the world. For six years he lived continuously in an important quarter of the British Empire, which I shall not name, because the allusion to it may seem rather disparaging. On being asked for a general criticism of the colony in question, as compared with Canada, he replied at once, "The trouble with that country is that it has no history," and he proceeded to show how in his opinion the absence of standards and traditions affected the life of the colony to its detriment. The speaker had no interest in history whatever—or at least only the interest which all educated men have in the subject—but his diagnosis of fundamental shortcomings took this form. In Canada we certainly have a history which is worth honoring, and the great pity is that so far we have done so little to exploit it. In-

stead of talking grandiloquently about our past, the truer patriotism would seem to point toward a closer investigation of it.

Let me try to express what I mean a little more fully. A few years ago, the late H. D. Traill edited a "Social History of England," and more recently M. Ernest Lavisse of the French Academy has edited a co-operative history of France. The same sort of thing has been done for America by Justin Winsor in his "Narrative and Critical History," while much of Winsor's work is being done over at the present moment by a group of scholars in the United States under the direction of Prof. Hart. But, speaking frankly, in the case of Canada the materials on which a good co-operative history can alone be founded do not exist. I feel pretty sure that neither Mr. Bain nor Prof. Wrong nor Mr. Langton will gainsay me at this point. A few weeks ago, I had a conversation with Dr. Doughty, the Dominion archivist, regarding a project for a co-operative history of Canada, to be brought out in connection with the Champlain celebration at Quebec in 1908. Whether such a work will be attempted is a separate question, but I think most experts will agree with Dr. Doughty in thinking that anything at present attempted on these lines would be of a purely provisional character. In a broad sense all historical writing is provisional, since each age refuses to be content with the historiography left it by its predecessors. In the case of Canada, however, any co-operative history undertaken at the present time would be of the most tentative character, and for this reason,—the monograph stage has not, with us, as yet been passed through.

One need not attempt to define at any great length the relations which should exist between the monograph—or special study dealing with a particular incident—and the national history. It is obvious that the latter must cover an immensely larger area and draw its materials from the data accumulated by many individuals through a long process of intensive research. Historians are sometimes inclined to ask whether it is possible any longer to do the work of co-ordination at all. Personally, I believe that every generation needs histories written for itself, however surely they may be doomed to eventual oblivion. Still, the national historian can achieve nothing which is at all satisfactory until a host of subjects have been investigated with minute and scrupulous care by patient delvers. President Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton, has recently urged the historical specialist to work in the spirit of the artist, turning out cameos which will be as much prized as large canvases. It would be ridiculous to deny that the literature of Canadian history is wholly lacking in good monographs. Books like Rochemonteix's "Jesuits," Lorin's "Frontenac," Doughty's "Siege of Quebec," and Biggar's "Early Trading Companies," speak eloquently to the contrary. Still, an enormous amount of pioneer work must be done before a bibliography of Canadian history can show any such results as are represented by a little book like Channing and Hart's "Guide to American History."

This statement brings me to a topic of practical interest—the topic which, indeed, of all others, should receive most attention from such patriots as desire to do something for the cause of Canadian History. We need to have at Ottawa a well-endowed and creditable Archives Department. I do not breathe a word against the late archivist, Mr. Brymner, nor the present archivist, Dr. Doughty. No one in this Dominion has a more sincere or disinterested zeal for the expansion and improvement of the archives than Dr. Doughty. No one is prepared to strive more unflinchingly than he to gather, arrange and edit our national records. The situation is an extremely simple one. In the past we have neglected an important duty by treating the Archives in a purely incidental fashion. For many years past the main affiliation of this department has been agricultural. The time has come to render it *cultural* in a broad and national sense.

Were it necessary to make a formal plea, the nexus of argument would run thus: Theoretically, at least, we all desire that there should be sound and learned histories of Canada. These cannot be prepared until a large number of special topics have been investigated with minute care. Owing to the present limitation of the national archives, the work of preparing good monographs is extremely difficult and costly. Therefore, one must conclude that the only sound policy is to collect and arrange these original materials without recourse to which the historian will be making a large waste of his time in writing on Canadian subjects at all. I do not pretend that the Government should be asked to collect everything. If it made this attempt it might have the same experience which the Patent Office of the United States had in the matter of models. The original design of Congress was to preserve a model of each patented machine or appliance, but about twenty years ago a crisis was reached. It then became clear that if this rule were adhered to it would be necessary to roof over the whole district of Columbia, and no one recommended that course. So, in the case of our own archives. Not every kind of record can be preserved by the Dominion Government at Ottawa, but certain great categories of documents ought to be brought together and made thoroughly accessible.

Our backwardness in comparison with other civilized countries might be brought out by some extremely graphic statistics. For example, the annual appropriation made for the Archives Department has not until now exceeded \$12,000. For next year I understand that the grant is likely to be \$20,000. But the single state of Wisconsin spends \$45,000 a year on its Historical Society—a sum which at the next session of the Legislature will probably be raised to \$55,000. Now the population of Wisconsin is about one-third the population of Canada, and such history as it has to spend its money on is largely an overflow from Canadian history. That State is represented in the statuary hall of the capitol at Washington by a figure of Pere Marquette, and those whom they delight to honor in

orations are the *coureurs de bois*, or explorers like La Salle, Du Luth and Hennepin. If Wisconsin can afford to lay out \$45,000 per annum on history, we surely, with thrice the population and a far richer history can afford to spend whatever is necessary in collecting and arranging the chief materials required for original research. As a matter of fact, not more than \$45,000 a year would be needed, unless the publication of documents were attempted.

I have taken Wisconsin as a shining example of the liberality which is shown by the Western States in fostering historical studies, and I may supplement the statistics already given by saying that in the whole area covered by the United States between 400 and 500 historical societies exist. Most of these are active organizations and many of them, besides owning much valuable property, issue a series of publications.

Europe, however, furnishes us with even more valuable precedents than are to be drawn from the United States. Take Great Britain alone. I say nothing of the work done by a multitude of learned societies—the Selden Society, the Surtees Society, the Camden Society, the Hakluyt Society, the Spottiswoode Society, the Maitland Club, the Pipe Roll Society, and a whole host of similar organizations supported by private effort. But what should we do at this time of day without those publications, the expense of which has been borne by Government? I refer to the Rolls Series for mediæval history, the Calendars of State Papers for the Tudor and Stuart periods, the reports of the Historical MSS. Commission for private archives. France, in certain respects, has been even more lavish, for ever since 1839 it has supported at public expense the *Ecole des Chartes*, an institution wherein many of the best mediævalists now living have been trained. Within a few months Mr. C. H. Firth, the new professor of history at Oxford, has been pleading in his inaugural lecture that Oxford should begin to train men for historical work as they have long been trained in France at this state supported *Ecole des Chartes*. Equally decisive examples are afforded by the action of other continental states—not only by the first-class powers like Germany, Austria, and Italy, but by Switzerland, Holland, Belgium and the Scandinavian lands. Even Spain has a fine new archives building at Madrid, though the most precious documents which the Spaniards possess are lodged in a desolate and almost deserted castle at Simancas, where a group of functionaries spend the winter months, huddled around a red hot stove, smoking cigarettes in a building that is far from being fire proof.

To take the case of Canada alone. In this country we spend nothing on national education, and, even if we had more money and a better disposition to spend, grave difficulties would confront us when we came to the details of the expenditure. We spend nothing on literature—apart from the up-keep of the Parliamentary Library. We cut down the grant to the Geological Survey, until in the opinion of many it is quite inadequate. As for the archives, the prospect is better now than it has been

for some time past. The appropriation is going up from \$12,000 to \$20,000, and a new building is being provided. But the whole subject must be approached in a broad-minded spirit by legislators and the public if we are not to fall behind many smaller and less wealthy communities. Speaking quite candidly, we are pretty far behind already, and the question hinges less upon the task of holding our own than on the more difficult one of making up lost time.

I do not wish to be regarded as taking the tone of a pessimist or as disparaging the best contributions which have already been made to Canadian history. A fourth form boy with a taste for etymology was once asked to distinguish between an optimist and a pessimist. "An optimist," he replied, "is the man who looks after your eyes, and a pessimist is the man who looks after your feet." In advocating the expansion of the Dominion archives, I only wish to go to the bottom of the matter and insist upon the need of laying a solid foundation. Special studies, based on a first hand knowledge of the sources, are the solid pedestal upon which the work of art—the great national history—must stand. Were this the place to discuss details much might be said regarding the organization of a Records Office and the work that might properly be taken up in Canada by a Historical Manuscripts Commission. A single word, perhaps, may be said concerning the materials for local history. These must be looked to with particular care because they are so perishable. Already it is difficult—and often impossible—to make up files of local newspapers from the beginning; and domestic correspondence, even where most valuable,—as among the members of leading families,—tends to disappear after a generation or so. To take the part of Canada with which I am most familiar, I may say that materials for a minute study of the colonization movement in the Eastern Townships are fast disappearing where already they have not perished. The conditions that prevailed in this country 75 years ago are, generally speaking, so familiar to us that we attach little importance to local records. But two centuries hence the conditions will have changed altogether. Indeed the proper custody of historical materials is among the chief duties which each age owes to its successors.

The sum and substance of what I have sought to urge can be condensed into a very few words. Those who love their country most are often those who are most alive to the contrast between their ideal and actual conditions. When it comes to the subject of history which is close to the heart of every patriot, we would seem to follow the reasonable course in avoiding tall talk and devoting closer attention than heretofore to the systematic study of our own annals.

The subject assumes all the more importance at a time like this, when Canada is making greater progress in things material than ever before; when she is bound up so closely with the international relations of two great powers like Great Britain and the United States; when imperial

aspirations are enlarging the political horizon; and when a spirit of hope is abroad on every hand. It is quite clear that, in both volume and scale the interests of Canada will be much greater in the future than they have been in the past. But everything which makes us look forward with the more confidence should make us look backward with the more sympathy, affection and filial piety.

(March, 13, 1905)

The Case for Separate Schools

BY PAUL MARTINEAU.

The views I am going to express are those of a constant, sincere and devoted friend of education, who cannot yet realize that in a free country it is impossible in questions relating to this matter to find solutions satisfactory to all parties concerned, who fears that the intense acuity of the present situation may be traced to a revival of religious and racial differences, which from time to time seem bent to destroy in this country what years of labor and sacrifice have built, who earnestly hope that out of this discussion will at last evolve such clear enunciation of principles that will forever prevent the recurrence of similar difficulties.

I will first, with your kind permission, lay down the doctrine of the Catholic Church on the Separate Schools question, and the reasons upon which rests its policy, and as I have not over confidence in my theological science, I will do so by quoting a few undisputed authorities. I shall afterward examine if the system of separate schools is really undemocratic and anti-national, or if, on the contrary, it is not, in a mixed community, when properly understood and loyally applied, the safest guarantee of peace and unity, in fact the only system, in such circumstances, conducive to universal education. An analysis of the disputed provisions in the light of the British America Act and of provincial autonomy will close this thirty minutes' speech, exactly the time allowed for religious instruction in the Separate Schools of Manitoba and the Northwestern Territories.

Before telling you what a Catholic School is, let me tell you what it is not, in answer to those who, misinformed or prejudiced, openly say or secretly think all kinds of horrors about them.

When Catholics demand, in every land where the voice of justice and liberty can be heard, the right to establish Separate Schools, they never do it in a spirit of intolerance towards those of other religious beliefs; for they are always ready in every circumstance and on every occasion to grant to their fellow citizens, in the greatest measure, the

rights which they demand for themselves. They do not wish by that to proclaim themselves better and more religious than other Christians; for do they not acknowledge every time that the occasion presents itself, the noble qualities and great virtues of many of those who differ from them on dogmatic grounds?—It is not that they wish to teach in their schools a different patriotism to that which is taught in other institutions; you are fully aware that the Canadian Catholics who defended in this country and on foreign shores, the British flag, have been cradled, so to speak, in our Separate Schools, and it is there in those very institutions that they have learnt to love that flag which floats over the land and rules over the seas. It is not that they wish to inculcate into their children, ideas whose narrowness would blast every noble aspiration and be a stumbling block to national advancement; for have we not done our share in the building up of the Nation; in politics, in the arts, sciences and industries, are we found wanting? It is not that we attribute to the public schools the great increase of crime, because we know that the immoderate ambitions and the unhealthy passions of our day are due to habits of luxury and enjoyment which every school system is powerless to prevent. It is not because we like ignorance, none of you will ever believe that, I hope; we know too well the misfortunes which it causes to society in general and to the individual in particular. Neither is it because we are afraid of progress, I hope that you do not believe that either; for we desire and wish as you do, to seek, to find and to employ every way and means in our power, that will make each of us men of honor, freedom and progress, helpers, associates, friends and brothers ever ready to succor each other on life's great battle field.

We want Separate Schools.—

“Because according to our religious faith, the religious and secular “education of our children cannot be divorced from each other without “inflicting a fatal wound upon the soul; because it is necessary to inculcate in the minds of youth while at school, the virtues of truth, “justice, honesty, temperance, self control and those other fundamental “duties comprised in the Christian code of morals.” I cite from “Our “Christian Heritage,” by Cardinal Gibbons.

“Because, in order to make popular education truly good and “socially useful, it must be fundamentally religious. It is necessary “that national education should be given—and received in the midst of “a religious atmosphere, and that religious impressions and religious “observances should penetrate into all its parts. Religion is not a study “or an exercise to be restricted to a certain place or a certain hour. It “is a faith and a law, which ought to be felt everywhere and after this “manner alone can exercise all its beneficial influence upon our mind “and our life.” These words are from Guizot the celebrated French writer.

"Because education must foster religion and as the three great educational agencies are the home, the church and the school, which mould men and shape society, each of them to do its part well must foster religion." Extract from an article of Reverend Sheedy, on parochial schools of the U. S. published by the Bureau of the Education, in 1904.

Such is the abstract object of the Separate Schools, such are the Separate Schools. Nothing less, I admit; nothing more, I pray you to believe.

I know that most of you do not share in these opinions; I know that you are satisfied to leave the religious teaching of your children to the parents at home, or to the minister in the Sunday Schools; but I hope that none of you will doubt the sincerity of the opinions which I have just given you. I ask you, therefore, how can the Separate Schools, such as I describe them, tend to overthrow social order, be contrary to democratic principles, be an obstacle to progress, to science and to liberty?—How can the establishment of these schools create such divisions as will retard and prevent the realization of the manifestly so brilliant destinies of this great Canada of ours?

I seek earnestly for the answer, but I fail to find it.

Of what matter is it to you the religious dogmas which my child learns at school? Of what moment is it to you the time which he spends in his studies, if he learns in the same time, and as well as yours, the civil and national rights and obligations of citizen, if, like your child, he knows, loves, and venerates all that is noble in that sublime phrase, love of country, if his heart beats like yours at the sight of the Nation's Flag, and if like yours he is ready to give his life's blood for its defense.

Shall it be answered to all this that if such is the theory of the Separate Schools, its results bear very different fruits?

Well, I accept the challenge. Let these gentlemen specify their accusations. Let them say which of the Catholic statesmen have been unfaithful to their trust on account of their moral training in the Separate Schools? Let them name the Catholic members of the House of Commons, or any Legislature unworthy to advise the Crown on account of their disloyal tendencies? Let them go over the list of our writers and tell us when, where and who did breed discord and revolt? Let them point out amongst the workingmen, the Catholics who refused on account of the teaching received at school to fulfill the duties imposed upon them by the constitution and the law.

These accusations are not only false, but savor of criminality in a country where all our efforts should tend to peace and harmony, in order to make the future as bright as the past was dark.

Some see in the establishment of Separate Schools, and it is the reason of their opposition, the creation of a state within the state, an "imperium in imperio," independent of the legitimate control of the Province.

Such is not the case. We know that if education is a religious mat-

ter, it is not only a religious one, and there is not a subject pertaining to education, except the liberty of teaching religion in our schools, how, when and by the books we like, without any restrictions as to time or hour, that we are not ready to leave entirely in the hands of the Government, and to abide squarely and loyally by the decision of the majority. We are living fortunately under a constitutional regime, we know the responsibilities it implies, and we shall be the last to strike at its foundations. I shall try to prove it.

Are not the following the principal *desirata* in educational matters against the modern progressive nations: Free and compulsory education, proper inspection, courses of secular study in accord with the needs of the children and aspirations and possibilities of the country, examinations of the teachers, uniformity of books?—

Well, none of these things are incompatible with a Separate Schools system, and the authority of the Legislature on such matters would not be questioned by the immense majority of our people.

Whenever proper financial arrangements can be made, we are for free schools as education is not only an obligation of the parents towards the child, but a right of the child against the state, and he should not be begging for it or be deprived of it.

We are for compulsory education for we consider ignorance as a crime against the child and against the state. But can compulsory education be possible, equitable, if the schools to which our children will be forced to go, are repugnant to our conscience?

All schools receiving taxes or public grants, should be officially inspected by the Government. This inspection is done in the Province of Quebec, and if the number of inspectors was doubled as well as their salary, the cause of education would receive a very great impulse, as frequent and efficient inspection is a constant source of diligence.

We may not believe in uniformity of books when tuition is entirely free, but we believe in it when it is not, for the same scholastic municipality, as it undoubtedly lessens the costs of education. I have advocated it very strongly in Montreal and I hope the day is not far distant when it will be an accomplished fact.

I mean, of course, uniformity with the same class of schools.

Teachers must be qualified, absolutely qualified, as the efficiency of the school entirely depends on the efficiency of the teachers. And the public is entitled to know that they are so competent.

When no religious principles are at stake, compromises are honorable, and if none is possible the majority should govern.

The representatives of the people in the legislatures are the judges of what the children need for their advancement in life, and for the advancement of their country. It is for them to decide the programme of secular matters to be taught in all schools.

The moderate men amongst you will see from the above that the admitted boundaries of provincial educational fields are large enough to receive within them all the true friends of education.

I know that a few Catholics condemn as monstrous the principles which I have just enunciated, and that others fear their application. The former no matter how sincere they may be are none the less extremists.

They resemble those Catholics and republicans of France from whom they think they are very far off, who confound the one and the other, but for different motives, "Royalty" and the "Church." In fact, while the extremists of Ontario will call me a bigot, those of Quebec will call me a freemason.

The fear of the latter are respectable and justifiable. The organic changes in the educational laws have been in many countries inspired so often solely through hatred for the Catholic religion or followed by such violent persecutions, there has been so often hidden under the folds of the banner of liberty, the guerilla which served as the rallying word to fanaticism, that Catholics and principally those who have charge of souls, are now suspicious of the least change. But enact the same laws in other countries and in other circumstances, let a fair minded spirit respectful of the rights and liberties of others preside at their conception and application, then all opposition will disappear.

Of the accusation of ignorance, I have nothing to say, because insults are no arguments.

I think I have answered to all other arguments in a spirit of good faith, and the reasons I have given must convince you that we are at least sincere in our revendications, that we believe them to be just and necessary, that they are antagonistic to no race or religion, that they can prejudice neither, nor the cause of education, nor the national cause, to which we are devoted as any one of you.

I would like, however, to add a last word on this part of the subject. Did it not ever occur to you that after all the public schools which you call neutral are only so relatively? Do you not therein each day read the Bible, do not your text books from which you may have honestly tried to expurgate any prejudicial references to either branches of Christianity, still mention the names of Christ, of the Apostles, of Saints, of Christianity? Do you know on the other hand that in certain countries this reading and those references are considered highly offensive and that in France, in particular, no mention must be made of anything that pertains to Christianity in any books, or by any teacher in the Public Schools?

Are you ready as men of honor to tell me that you would be willing if you were Protestant citizens of France, to send your children to such schools; will you honestly tell me that you would not consider it your duty to send them to a school where they would at least learn that such religion as the Christian religion does exist, will you sincerely tell me that you would consider it just to be assessed for the support of such neutral school?

You may tell me so now that you see where my argument is tending to, but to-morrow when alone with your conscience and your duty, you would protest against such system.

It is what we are doing. While you would require in France that your children receive even at schools notions of Christianity, we require in Canada that ours should receive notions of Catholic Christianity.

Are not the two cases similar and both supported by the very same principles?

There has been, I do not know exactly how, introduced into this debate, matters foreign to it, relating to language. I am even convinced, I have said it at the beginning, it is for many the source of their virulent opposition. However, the fanatics will have to put up with it. If there are in Canada people who are ready to repudiate the Confederation Act, there are none in England who would think of touching the Treaty of Paris, and as this Treaty gives national rights in Canada to the French language, we consequently are fully decided to make use of it, and to bequeath it to our children.

However, it is in vain that these gentlemen would wish no more to hear the French language spoken; our plains, our mountains, our rivers, our great lakes, will forever send forth the names of the heroes who sailed over their stormy billows or who traversed the endless prairies to plant the Flag of Civilization even in those very territories, where the souvenir of France appears to them so terrific.

And if they would listen to the echoes of the past which never become extinct in countries destined to live these echoes will always repeat to them in French, because it is the first language which they heard, the history of sacrifices and struggles which make us all appear very small to-day.

If we would become English, we would become Englishmen beaten down by the remorse of the past to which we would have become base traitors; we would be fellow citizens, speaking your tongue, but ignoring your thoughts; faithful associates, but indifferent to the success of a cause which would no more be common; brothers bearing the same name, but sons of different mothers.

Keep us, I say, just as we are and just as we are we shall contribute in as large a measure as you will, to realize in this twentieth century *the dream of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*.

But whatever may be said for or against the Separate School system, its principle has been accepted by the framers of Confederation in clause 93 of the British North America Act, after long and anxious controversies, in which all parties were represented and on conditions to which all have given their consent.

To what extent and for what part of Canada is a matter upon which divergent views have been expressed? I submit, however, the following propositions as being the law on the subject.

10. *The provisions of sub-section 10 of clause 93 apply not only to Quebec and Ontario, but to all Canada.*

The text of sub-section 10 is general in its term and makes exception for no province, either actual or future.

Historical events have very cleverly been advanced to support the contention that the provisions of section 93 in regard to Separate Schools should be limited to the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. I will answer this argument by what the Lord Chancellor said in the second Manitoba appeal: "Such considerations should not properly influence the judgment of those who have judicially to interpret a statute. The question 'is not 'what may be supposed to have been intended, but what has been 'said.'"

At any rate greater weight should be given to those who were called upon during the discussion of the bill, to express an opinion upon it. It is not what Mr. Galt or Mr. Brown had previously said that enabled the British Parliament to pronounce upon this section, but it was what was then said by those who had charge of the bill. Here are the remarks of Lord Carnarvon: "The object of this clause is to secure to the 'religious minority of one province the same rights, privileges, and protection which the religious minority of another province may enjoy. 'The Roman Catholic minority of Upper Canada, the Protestant minority 'of Lower Canada, and the Roman Catholic minority of the Maritime 'Provinces, will then stand on a footing of entire equality."

Not only are the terms of sub-sections 10 general, but the lords of the Privy Council have even said in the second appeal of Manitoba that they *apply not only to Protestants or Catholic, but to any class of citizens.*

20. *The powers of the Provinces in respect to education are not supreme, but limited, and any law passed by them prejudicially affecting any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools, which any class of persons had by law in the Province at the time of the union is ultra vires, null and void.*

My authority on this point is again the Lord Chancellor, who delivered the judgment of the Privy Council, in *Brophy vs. Attorney-General of Canada*: "The 1st subsection of section 22 of the Act of 1870, corresponding with sub-section 1 of clause 93 of B.N.A. Act, *imposes a limitation on the legislative powers conferred. Any enactment contravening 'its provisions, is beyond the competency of the provincial legislature and 'consequently null and void.*"

In relation to the subject specified in section 92 of the B. N. A. Act, "the exclusive power of the provincial Legislature may be said to be absolute. But this is not so as regards education.

30. *Not only are the powers of the Provincial Legislature limited by section 1 of clause 93, but even when acting intra vires, if the laws they pass prejudicially affect the Roman and Protestant minority in respect to this dissentient or denominational schools, not only in respect to those*

they possessed at the time of the Union, but also in respect to those that might have been established after the Union, the Parliament of Canada may pass remedial laws.

Such is the judgment of the Privy Council in the second Manitoba appeal.

"In the event of any wrong at the hands of local majority," also said Lord Carnarvon, "the minority may appeal to the Governor-in-Council "and claim the application of any remedial laws that may be necessary "from the Central Parliament of Canada."

The first judgment of the Privy Council in the Manitoba case has been relied upon as being contrary to those propositions. It is not. Here is the scope of this judgment, as explained in the same appeal:

"In Barrett's Case the sole question raised was whether the public "Schools Act of 1890 prejudicially affected any right or privilege which "the Roman Catholics by law or practice had in the Province at the Union. "Their lordships arrived at the conclusion that this question must be answered in the negative. The only right or privilege which the Roman "Catholics then possessed either by law or in practice, were the right or "privilege of establishing or maintaining for the use of members of their "own church, such schools as they pleased. It appeared to their lordships that this right or privilege remained untouched, and therefore "could not be said to be affected by the legislation."

The appeal in the New Brunswick case was dismissed because the Court was of opinion that at the time of the Union no denominational schools existed in the Province.

If the law is as I state, I submit as a logical sequence this other proposition.

40. *If it had been thought just that the rights or privileges with respect to the denominational schools which any class of persons had by law in the old provinces at the time of their entrance into the Union should not be legally interfered with, it is also just that the rights and privileges with respect to those schools, which the minority of the North-West has at the time of its entrance in the Union, should not either be affected.*

It would be just, even if there were no precedent, but it was done when Manitoba entered the Union. The terms of clause 93 were even then enlarged by adding the word "practice" to the word "law," so that even the right enjoyed by the minority by practice was to be protected from any interference.

If any discrimination was made, the minority in the North-West would no more be on an equal footing with the minorities of the other provinces, and this contrary to the object of clause 93 as read and explained by Lord Carnarvon.

Now is clause 16 of the Laurier Bill within the scope of the above propositions, and within the letter and spirit of clause 93 B. N. A. Act in establishing forever Separate Schools in the new provinces?

The answer, I think, must be affirmative.

What practical or even jurisdictional difference is there between two legislations, one imposing on the Federal Government the moral obligation to restore, if they were ever abolished, the denominational schools to the minority in the old provinces, the other enacting that the minority of the new provinces shall keep their denominational schools; one stipulating that the old provinces shall not pass any law prejudicially affecting the right of the minority to Separate Schools, the other making it impossible for new provinces so to do? If I interpret rightly clause 93, as creating by subsection first an absolute, and by subsection three a moral right in favor of minorities to Separate Schools, an obligation and moral duty for the provinces to respect such right, and for the Parliament of Canada, to enforce it, opposition to clause 16 of the proposed bill can only come from those who put their individual opinions, however sincere, respectable, enlightened they may be, above the text of the law and above its admitted spirit.

But it seems to me that it is not loyal to break by sheer force such a solemn compact, that such high handed proceedings are not conformed to our notions of justice.

A sentimental argument has been put forward, namely, that this enactment is an insult to the new Legislature as it supposes gratuitously that they will abolish denominational schools. This supposition is not, unfortunately, premature, as is proven by the sensational resignation of Mr. Sifton and not improbable in the light of Manitoba and New Brunswick experiences. Furthermore, the delays attending the appeals of the minorities are so long, the political exigencies and expediencies so numerous, the redress of such a compromising character, that it is infinitely preferable to prevent at once and forever the injustice, than to leave it to be remedied when, and in the manner it would please any future Government in power.

If we have any rights, and we have, we do not want to be deprived of them during years and years, we do not want to be carried from Court to Court, from Parliament to Parliament, from parties to parties, we want to exercise them fully and freely.

The members of the West have, it appears, submitted to the Government an ultimatum under the form amendments which propose to grant for the moment, I suppose, Separate Schools to the minority as they exist under the ordinances of 1901, reserving to the minority the right of appeal to the Governor, when they will be abolished later on, and the right of Parliament to pass in such case a remedial law.

The rapid study I have made of the law of 1901 does not enable me, I confess, to fairly judge of the real nature of the schools therein called Separate Schools. They may come within the definition above given of

Separate Schools ! but to speak my whole mind on this point, I think it is a proper case to repeat the old Roman maxim :—

"Times Danaos et Dona ferentes."

Which means translated in Canadian political modern language : "I have not much confidence in Siftonian Separate Schools amendments."

Of course, amendments can be made to the wording of article 16 of the proposed bill without imperilling its substance, but if these amendments are satisfactory to the anti-separate school members, there is a presumption that they will not be worth a great deal for the cause of Separate Schools. What should induce all the bona fide supporters of the separate system to retain the clause as it has been framed is that the reduction of its second paragraph is verbatim the text of the law of 1875, granting to the minority of the North-West what every one at the time considered to be real Separate Schools.

The other part of the western amendment simply reproduces article 93 as a means of redress for the minority.

Now, this clause has been proven to be totally inadequate on each occasion the minority has wanted to act upon it, and it would be a folly for her to rely upon it. The Government has so understood and cannot come back upon its own conviction. If a week ago they were convinced that the best way to settle forever the school question in the territories was to settle it actually they cannot now believe that it is better or as well to leave the matter to be settled by future Parliaments, if occasion should occur. If they thought a week ago that Canada had seen enough of two school agitations, they cannot believe now that it matters not for the peace of the country, its progress, its union to have a third one. This change is not one of word, it is one of substance. It should not be made.

Paragraph 3 of section 16 deals with the distribution of public grants for education. To its provision many are specially opposed. I tell you frankly that I am unable to understand this last opposition coming from sincerely believe that the establishment of denominational schools is detrimental presumably favorable to Separate Schools. I admit that a man may mental to the public interest, but I cannot understand how a man convinced of the right of minority to establish its own school, can logically refuse to give to this minority its proportional share of the public moneys devoted to educational purposes, how a man can acknowledge that it is an injustice to levy taxes on a ratepayer for support of a school, where he cannot send his children, and coldly proposes at the same time, that the undivided share of this ratepayer in the public moneys shall be paid to the very school he objects.

I know that logic and consistency are not absolute requisites for politicians, but a little of each in such solemn circumstances might be of some service.

It really seems to me that this question of finance is only raised to effect an honorable retreat, or, which would be very deplorable, to crush

by a roundabout way the Separate Schools which cannot be maintained, no more than the other schools, without public grants.

The elimination of the financial part of the clause would be a concession which would practically render useless the main object of the bill. If it is made, it would not be on either side for a motive of justice, of harmony, of law, but for party purposes which will make the change still more regretted.

I have, however, lately seen an objection worthy of notice in connection with this financial clause. Why, do some people say, should the public treasury contribute to the support of schools established with the avowed object of teaching therein sectarian dogmas? We might answer that we are perfectly satisfied that the other schools should teach different dogmas, but this would a *tu quoque* argument. There is no need for it, for public moneys are not drawn upon, because Separate Schools teach religious dogmas, but because the secular teaching therein given is the one imposed by law, because such teaching is up to the requirements of law, because it is given by teachers recognized by law, because on those secular grounds, the dissentient schools are absolutely like those of the majority and should be absolutely on an equal footing.

I have so far supposed that there is at the present time a system of Separate Schools in the territories. But even if such a system did not exist, the Parliament of Canada would be within the sphere of its own attributions in inscribing it into the new constitution. If citizens of any part of this country insist that their children be educated only in such schools as their conscience allows them to attend, it is not, I have already pretended in the News, a merely educational enactment that will bow before this expression of belief, that will respect this sacred sentiments, it is a national declaration and a guarantee to all those who desire to enter the gates of Alberta and Saskatchewan, that the full exercise of their religion is forever secured against bigotry, favoritism, or false provincial ideals.

The pending question is, therefore, only a school question for sectarians, for us it is one of liberty. And remember that the religious liberty, the political liberty, the liberty of the press, are but one, are but the liberty, the emanation of the eternal justice which made all men equal and brothers.

Remember also that no people, no Government, no majority ever suffered from adhering, even at temporary sacrifices of opinions or interests, to the fundamental principles of liberalism.

If any concession on our part was possible, we would not hesitate as in many other occasions to make them, but we feel that this is the last opportunity we have to vindicate a right which twice in a quarter of a century was denied us, and we cannot recede from our position.

If we win, I hope the day will soon come when to the approval of the whole people a Governor General, in opening a Separate School of North

West will be able to repeat the word of Roosevelt at the inauguration of a parochial school in the United States; "The basis of liberty is the "right of every man to serve the Lord according to its conscience and the "duty of every man to respect the others in the exercise of this right."

It is the only revenge we desire.

Should we fall, we do not intend like Major Hughes to send soldiers to the North-West, our sons will go there as they did in 1885, only to maintain the supremacy of the law, but we shall continue to live and to work and to study and to improve, with our traditions, our hopes, our sympathies, our religion, our language, and when a new generation of men will have sprung up, we will ask them, accompanied by the English Protestant minority of Quebec, who will bear evidence of our past generosity towards them, if at last they are willing to form a nation in which each race will find something of its past, something of its ideals, something of itself, and the union shall then be sealed forever under the shadow of the Flag of Liberty, which will be the Flag of the new Canadian Nation.

(*March 20, 1905.*)

Industrialism.

BY PROF. WALTER A. WYCKOFF.

I have the honor of addressing you this afternoon on the broad subject of Industrialism, and in the few minutes that I shall take I shall approach the subject from the point of view of a general survey of the field of modern industry. Is Industrialism effecting some remedy for the difficulties it has itself created, or is it sinking modern society into deeper complexity, confronting us with increasingly perplexing problems? Is Industrialism quickening the higher life of men, or is it dwarfing and stunting the better side of man's nature.

I take it that, in view of the fact that you know that for some time I became an unskilled laborer and journeyed from Connecticut to California in the character of a worker, earning my living by any form of manual labor that offered itself, and that I have supplemented this experience with some study of the science of economics, your gracious invitation to me to address you on industrialism contains something of the inquiry "Watchman, what of the night?" You wish me to tell you something of the outlook as it appears to me; or to change the figure, your position is that Industrialism is on trial, and while there can be no verdict at the present time, and one may not be possible for perhaps a century yet, it still is perfectly legitimate, on the basis of the evidence already in, to

forecast something of the final verdict of history, so that we may take courage of hope, and if not of hope, then courage of despair. In any case, we have a right to some definite views with regard to the nature of the industrial forces which surround us, and under the influence of which we must do our work and live our lives.

As I look out over the field of modern industry, I find that no fact there is more damning than the fact that industrialism has effected a social cleavage, a cleavage in virtue of which there exist two clearly defined classes, the capitalists and the wage earners, the employers and employees. Most of us here present, and perhaps the majority in a country such as ours, belong to the middle class, owning some capital and doing much self-directed labor. That, however, does not affect the truth of my original assertion, that the logical, inevitable development of Industrialism is a social cleavage, yielding two industrial classes, one owning and administering the material instruments of production, the other bringing to production simply its capacity for labor, mental or manual, but having no right of ownership in the instruments with which it works. Moreover, instead of the recognition of any human tie binding these classes together, Industrialism has attempted to join them by what Carlyle has called a "nexus of cash payment," a recognition of no human tie as linking man to man, but only the link of contract wage. It was a contrast with the solidarity of feudal society that Carlyle had in mind, a social order held together by the strongest bonds of common responsibility and obligation, wherein there was no landless man and no lordless man, but from lowest to highest and from highest to lowest there were binding ties growing out of human relationships, carrying with them obligations that all were bound to fulfill. With such solidarity Carlyle contrasted the freedom of the present day wage-earner, bound to no man and no man bound to him, but free, and "free," as Carlyle adds, "to die of starvation."

Furthermore, Industrialism has degraded the artisan, who was an artist, into the position of a machine-tender. Not only has it cleft industrial society in twain and attempted to bridge the cleavage by a "nexus of cash payment"; not only has it divorced the worker from the instruments of his work; but it has made of the skilful artisan a merely dexterous machine tender. In an earlier organization of industry there was a natural progress for the worker from the position of apprentice to that of journeyman, and from journeyman to master-craftsman, which involved the training of the artisan and entailed no separation between him and his tools.

We have only to examine the matter superficially to see the enormous gulf which separates his position from that of a modern wage-earner. He owned the raw material of his craft, and the simple tools with which he worked; he owned the finished product and took it to the market; he may even have been the owner of his shop and certainly he had entire control of the conditions of his labor. Rent and interest were his, for he worked

with his own capital; profits were his, for he managed his own enterprise; contract wages were paid to his journeymen and apprentices, but they in turn in the natural progress of their craft became master craftsmen.

But, you will say, whatever else may be true of Industrialism, this certainly is true, that it has done away with chattel slavery; it has abolished serfdom and substituted for it the freedom of the modern wage system. That, I grant you, is true, and anyone who uses the term "wage slavery" as fairly descriptive of the general condition of modern labor, misrepresents the facts of everyday experience and is responsible for exciting class hatred and the ungovernable passions which always accompany class hatred. But if we look closely, we shall find that there are areas of the industrial world wherein there exist present conditions to which the term "wage slavery" is justly applicable. Under the operation of the "parasitical trades," the unregulated industries which have not been brought as yet under the full restraint and organization of the factory system, any close scrutiny reveals the fact that there are masses of wage-earners who are to-day working and living under conditions that may fairly be described as "wage-slavery," and in comparison with which chattel-slavery was a condition far preferable.

Let me touch very briefly now upon the art, the education, the religion that are characteristic of Industrialism. I suppose that there is no more effective way of getting at the actual expression of the spirit of a people or of a time, than examining what are called the centres of its civilization, and certainly any intimate knowledge of the centres of our civilization reveals a hideous contrast between the condition of life, on the one hand, of the vast majority of wage-earners, over-crowded in insanitary tenements, surrounded by sordid ugliness, with little to humanize or beautify their outlook on life, and the ostentatious display of wealth and luxury, on the other hand, which gives expression to devotion to the commercial spirit. What have we that is more characteristic of American art than the sky-scrapers of our industrial centres, great monuments inspired by the lust for gain? Technical skill in art and industry we assuredly have. If we go into any representative modern gallery, such as the Luxembourg in Paris, we find there a mastery of technique which is perhaps not inferior to the great masters of the Italian Renaissance; but the artists of the present, while their powers of execution are of the highest, yet are powerless to move us profoundly, for they are themselves without conviction and so without a message for the world.

What is the truth as to education? You will say at once that at least the opportunities of education have been vastly increased, that there are now available to the poorest member of modern society, such as ours, facilities that were not available to the richest member of society two generations, or even a generation ago. And that is true. But when we come to examine closely into the motive of much modern education, and contrast it with what true education has meant from the beginning—the en-

lightenment of the spirit of man, that development of soul and mind and heart which is effected by bringing our spirits into contact with the great spirits of the past, so that we shall grow spiritually—when we contrast that, I say, with what is characteristic of much modern education, namely, a technical training for proficiency in the race for wealth, it gives us pause. Men go into training in education precisely as our college athletes go into training to win games and with the sole purpose and ambition of so acquitting themselves that they shall secure advantages in the race for worldly gain.

I suppose there is no aspect of that which goes deepest in all our natures, by whatever name we choose to call it, than that which has to do with the relations of our souls, of our inmost selves, with what we recognize as our ideals. And this I know, that if the world endure for yet ten million years, and if men attain to inconceivable heights of cultivation and civilization, the utmost truth of religion will still be contained in those words uttered by the Nazarene, "God is spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth"; for in these words lie the foundation of all true religion, the religion of the spirit, whatever may be the changing forms of orthodox, dogmatic religions of authority. But in conflict with this reality which is rooted in the inmost nature of man, we have the opposing view of life which denies the spiritual in man's nature, which refuses to recognize the ideal in life, and which holds before men an ideal of power acquired through the accumulation of wealth and which rears monuments to the worship of its god, Mammon.

You will charge me with painting an exceedingly black picture of Industrialism. Well, then, let us turn briefly to the other side of the picture. Whatever is true of Industrialism with reference to the social cleavage it has wrought, with reference to an attempt to bind the severed classes by a "nexus of cash payment," with reference to the degradation of the modern workman to a machine tender, whatever may be true of the existence of certain restricted areas of "wage-slavery," it yet remains true that modern Industrialism has solved one of the fundamental problems of society, namely, that of production. Have you ever considered the significance of the fact that so far as the physical needs of modern population are concerned, the forces within the control of modern industrial equipment have become equal to them? Look back for a moment over the history of England. At the time of the Conquest its population numbered two millions; at the time of James I. it had grown to five millions; and it was only at the time of the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century that the population had reached eight millions. In eight hundred years there had been an increase of only four-fold. Contrast with that the history of the growth of population in America. A people of ten millions early in the nineteenth century grew to twenty millions in twenty-five years, to forty millions in another period of twenty-five years, and then to eighty millions by the end of still another such a

period. So that the story of its growth is an increase by a geometrical progression in periods of twenty-five years. And the development of productive forces has been such that there has been no difficulty in producing subsistence for the ever increasing numbers. Indeed, so far from a difficulty in producing enough, the difficulty is in finding markets for our products, so complete has been the solution of the problem of production. A mediæval society, mainly because of its primitive industrial organization required eight centuries to increase four-fold; a modern society, because of its command of productive forces, has increased eight-fold within the limits of a century. Industrialism has solved the problem of production.

One who creates an industry, who gives new and more efficient direction to industrial forces is a philanthropist, whether he will or no. In the course of my own experience as an unskilled wage-earner, I once spent some time in a mining camp in the Rocky Mountains. Almost precisely the same conditions prevailed there as are common in over-crowded labor markets. The region yielded for the most part only a low grade ore, and but few claims could be worked, so there was scant employment. The difficulties of development seemed sometimes insuperable. We were looking for the completion of the railway which would reduce the cost of living, and the cost of transporting the ore and provide a solution of other problems. But the real solution lay in the fact that there were men of sufficient technical knowledge of the processes involved to apply new and cheaper methods of extracting gold; and the mining camp, which was then a struggling, half-starved community has become in consequence of the new processes, the centre of a prosperous population of sixty thousand and one of the great gold-producing centres of the world. The man who introduces new methods of production is, I say, a philanthropist in spite of himself, because he brings the idle hands of men into contact with the undeveloped resources of nature.

With the problem of production solved for the time, a further problem, and a far more important one, is that of the distribution of wealth. In the social cleavage of which I have spoken and the divorce of the worker from the instruments of his work; in the necessary, inevitable division of labor; and in the increasing centralization of capital, are there any elements of hopefulness besides increased productiveness of industry? I think there is the clearest evidence of the prospect of further solution of industrial problems. We are in the habit of hearing that the centralization of capital which is necessary to modern industry must be accompanied by a centralized ownership of capital. But this as a necessary result seems to me to be denied by the industrial history of the last generation. Consolidation, I take it, is inevitable. Partnerships have become joint-stock companies, and these have effected further consolidation by way of pools and syndicates and then by the organization of the "trust," which has given way in turn to giant corporations or holding-companies which have themselves expanded or consolidated into federated industries. That the

control and administration of large-scale industry should be centralized is inevitable, for there are few men who possess the capacity for such control; but that ownership must be centralized does not follow from the organization of modern industrial enterprise. I will cite but one fact as bearing upon my meaning, and I cite it with due reserve, for we are but on the threshold of this development, and any prediction is a precarious one. In the most recent statement of the United States Savings Banks that I have seen, their deposits amounted to two billion five hundred million dollars and represented upwards of six million depositors, most of them, I believe, wage-earners. This fact in connection with the growth of consumers' coöperation, of insurance business, and of building and loan associations, and of facilities offered to employees to become shareholders in the enterprises that employ them, suggest at least the possibility of a wide diffusion of ownership and that modern industrialism may be beginning to solve the great problem of distribution.

I should like to say a word in conclusion with regard to the aspects of art and of education that are representative of modern industrialism. The development of technique in art and of technical efficiency in education is certainly an outcome, in part at least, of the spirit of devotion to truth, to scientific fact as fact, which with all its shortcomings is the crowning distinction of our time. After all, this remains true of modern learning, that it is devoted to the truth as such and is ready to follow its leading regardless of *a priori* considerations.

And finally with reference to religion. We are not, alas for us! living in an age of faith, "The wind bloweth where it listeth and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth." But it is coming we can be sure, an age of faith born of devotion to the truth. And may we live to feel the quickening of that spirit enforced by all that industry has achieved and art and science have brought within the scope of man; for when that day comes, instead of a revolution, there will be a renaissance, and instead of "the red fool-fury of the Seins," there will be a day-dawn and a day-spring arising in men's hearts!

(March 27, 1905.)

The Indians of Canada.

BY FRANK PEDLEY.

Permit me to thank the members of the Canadian Club of Toronto for the opportunity you have afforded me of addressing you at one of your weekly meetings.

The variety of topics presented to you from time to time made it obviously a difficult matter to select a subject that would not savor of repetition and at the same time not suffer by comparison with the addresses of previous speakers.

After giving some thought as to the subject of my remarks to-day, I concluded that if I were to say a few words upon the Indians of Canada it might be of interest to you and also allow me to deal with a subject with which from the daily round I am more or less familiar. Of course I can do little more than generalize.

I propose to deal with the Indian work as that passes in review by the department, not, indeed, that the interesting and, in cases, fascinating accounts of Indian life and character, so much in evidence in the earlier stages of the country's history have lost their value or attractiveness, but rather to bring to your attention an outline of the nature of the obligation the Department of Indian Affairs is called upon to discharge.

It will be well within the knowledge of the members of this Club that under the British North America Act the management and control of Indian affairs are vested in the Dominion Government.

The administration of Indian affairs for many years prior to and subsequent to confederation was conducted by the Indian Superintendent with a deputy and staff. In 1880, however, the Department of Indian Affairs was constituted, enjoying an equal status with any other Department of the Government, having a regular staff with headquarters at Ottawa, besides a large number of outside offices transacting the business of the department locally from one end of the Dominion to the other and is to-day one of the largest spending Departments of the Government, its Parliamentary appropriation exceeding \$1,000,000.00 in addition to the expenditure arising out of the trust fund of between \$4,000,000.00 and \$5,000,000.00.

Our outside officers are in constant touch with the Indian population and it is through their guidance and direction that the Government policy is carried into practical effect. The management of Indian affairs is conducted very largely under the provisions of the Indian Act, a comprehensive statute dealing with nearly every principle of necessary administration. Under its provisions the sales of land and timber take place, the

leasing of its mineral properties under regulations founded on the Statute, the funding of the trust moneys, the management of schools, the advancement of the Indians by the introduction and maintenance of a form of local self-government, the enforcement of the terms of the license sections of the Act, etc., in this way working out the Government's policy with reference to the Indian population.

A word or two as to the Indian title. Ever since the white man claimed or took possession of this country he has recognized the claim made by the Indian to the ownership of the land over which he and his ancestors roamed.

Far back in the beginning of the relations between the Indians and the whites, the records show that a reasonably generous spirit prevailed guiding the Government in its dealings with the aboriginal inhabitants. The history of this country for the past 200 years is replete with the story of negotiations, arrangements and treaties by which the white man's invasion of the Indian domain has been tempered by compensation either in lands or money or both. At the present time the Indian title is pretty well extinguished.

In the Maritime Provinces no specific treaty appears to have been made, but lands were set aside from time to time as reserves for the use of the Indians. In Quebec in the early days Crown grants were made to the missionaries laboring on behalf of the Indians, and subsequently, in some cases, these lands were conveyed by the missionaries to the tribe. In addition to this the Quebec Government many years ago set aside over 230,000 acres of land for the use of the Indians, the greater part of which has been taken up.

In the Province of Ontario specific treaties have been made securing the extinguishment of the Indian title to the territory described in consideration of certain fixed annual payments, the allotment of reserves, etc.

The whole of Manitoba and a large portion of the Territories are covered by treaties similar in terms to those of Ontario. In British Columbia pre-confederation arrangements were made by the Imperial authorities and since the union the Dominion and Provincial Governments have concluded an agreement providing for extensive land grants by the Province for the use of the Indians.

POPULATION.

At the rounding out of confederation, made complete by the addition of Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, British Columbia and the Territories, there was in so far as the returns were at hand, an Indian population of about 80,000 souls, distributed from the Atlantic to the Pacific, comprising over 30 different tribes, speaking as many, or at least, a great variety of languages or dialects.

I think I am safe in saying that there is a general impression that the Indians are a dying race. The records of the Department do not bear

out this view, but rather strengthens the contention that at the worst the Indians are holding their own.

The present Indian population is about 108,000, distributed by Provinces and districts as follows:

Ontario	21,093
Quebec	11,066
Prince Edward Island.....	301
British Columbia	25,582
Nova Scotia	1,930
New Brunswick	1,699
Manitoba.....	6,829
Northwest Territories.....	17,649
Ungava	5,060
Franklin District	2,500
Athabasca	1,239
McKenzie	4,149
Yukon	3,302
Keewatin.....	5,834

From the above it is an easy turn to the question of Indian properties in lands and funds, and chattels generally.

The number of reserves in Canada is 1,422, distributed by Provinces as follows :—

Nova Scotia, 39; 21,556.57 acres.
Prince Edward, 2; 1,524.00 acres.
New Brunswick, 25; 37,341.75 acres.
Quebec, 19; 202,448.18 acres.
Ontario, 139; 1,122,081.74 acres.
Manitoba, 52; 326,013.85 acres.
Assiniboia, 30; 676,195.50 acres.
Saskatchewan, 50; 721,024.00 acres.
Alberta, 25; 1,221,935.32 acres.
Keewatin, 5; 24,348.00 acres.
Athabasca, 5; 26,547.20 acres.
Yukon, 5; 800.00 acres.
British Columbia, 1,033; 540,021.08 acres.
Total, 1,422; 4,921,837.19 acres.

Note:—Five reserves in Treaty No. 3 are partially in Ontario and Manitoba.

These are counted as reserves in each Province with the areas credited to the Province in which they are.

These reserves are held in trust by the Government for the Indians. No reserve can be sold, alienated or leased without the consent of the band first obtained under the provisions of the Indian Act and afterwards approved by the Governor-General-in-Council.

The rights of the Indian to his land are absolutely safe-guarded by the Indian Act, and under the law as it now stands not one foot of land can be sold without the proper consent first being given, not even the railway, with all its powers of expropriation, can take possession or acquire proprietary rights without the permission of the Department and the Governor-in-Council.

When, however, the Indians have surrendered land to be disposed of for their benefit the proceeds are funded and placed to the credit of the band interested. In this way a large sum of money is now in the hands of the Government.

Ontario.....	\$3,756,422.84
Quebec.....	239,551.69
North West Territories.....	186,843.55
Manitoba.....	26,100.17
British Columbia.....	45,849.74
New Brunswick.....	26,106.52
Nova Scotia.....	2,371.83
<i>General.</i>	
Indian land management fund.....	154,053.40
<i>Savings</i> , annuity money and earnings of pupils of Industrial Schools and collections from Indians for purchase of cattle, etc.....	36,494.23
<i>Fund</i> for expenditure in connection with the prevention of the sale of liquor to Indians.....	3,113.84
	\$4,476,907.81

The interest on these moneys so held in trust is paid to the beneficiaries direct or devoted to assisting them in various ways. The capital funds of the band remain intact unless under special circumstances, principally those relating to an expenditure for a permanent improvement to the reserve.

With these lands and funds at hand for the use and benefit of the Indians it will not be out of place to say a word as to their occupation.

While the impression exists pretty generally that the Indians are mostly given to hunting, fishing, etc., it is a fact that their occupations are very much varied, being determined very largely by local conditions. In Eastern Canada the Indians are mostly hunters, fishermen, manufacturers of snowshoes, moccasins, bead-work, baskets, etc. In Ontario these occupations are followed in the newer and more remote districts, while in the settled portions the Indians are devoting themselves to pursuits somewhat similar to those of the white man,—farming, storekeeping, etc. In Manitoba and the Territories we have the hunters and the

fishermen in the outlying districts; in the central portions where mixed farming is carried on by the white men, the Indians are devoting themselves more or less to this pursuit, and in the Southern portion of the Territories, especially where ranching is more favored, the Indians are fairly extensively engaged in that calling.

In British Columbia, which contains the largest number of Indians of any one province or district, we find that the Indians are occupied in lumbering, fishing, hunting, at the canneries, working in the hop-fields, fruit orchards, etc.,—in other words, speaking in general terms, a stage has been reached whereby the Indian is passing to a greater or less extent from his aboriginal manners to those of civilization, and, in doing so, engages himself very largely in the industries that are the accompaniment of civilization.

It may be interesting to show the progress that is being made during the last 25 years in Manitoba and Territories:—

	1879.	1903.
Land under cultivation	68,237 acres.	129,025 acres.
Live stock	24,001 “	70,289 “
Farming implements... ..	12,400 “	344,780 “
Value earned by fishing	\$ 60,533.00	\$ 437,273.25
“ “ furs... ..	339,307.00	553,352.33
“ “ other industries	181,057.00	559,157.63
“ “ farm products. ..		1,092,745.00
“ “ wages... ..		1,278,094.84

At close of and for the fiscal year 1904 these men raised of farm produce throughout the Dominion.....	\$1,098,629.07
Fishing.....	518,753.00
Hunting.....	614,156.02
Wages.....	1,470,131.14
Other industries.....	612,810.77

In addition to the industrial pursuits and the assistance rendered by the Department, a line of policy has been followed leading to the education of the Indians, and also an improvement in their physical condition.

There are to-day in operation under the control of the Indian Department 228 day schools, distributed as follows:—

Ontario.....	71
Quebec.....	17
Nova Scotia.....	11
New Brunswick.....	6
Prince Edward Island.....	1
British Columbia... ..	30
Manitoba.....	48
Northwest Territories.....	33
Outside Treaty.....	11

These schools modeled on a system adopted by the Provincial Departments of Education for rural schools. In addition to the day schools the Department has subsidized 46 boarding-schools, which are carried on under the auspices of different religious denominations conducting missionary work among the Indians, where, in addition to the secular side of educational work, religious instructions are given, house-keeping for the girls and the rudiments of agriculture for the boys. These schools are as follows :—

Ontario.....	1
British Columbia.....	8
Manitoba.....	5
Northwest Territories.....	32

There is still another branch of our educational system known as the industrial school, of which there are 24, distributed as follows :—

Ontario.....	5
British Columbia.....	9
Manitoba.....	4
Northwest Territories.....	6

These were established for the purpose of affording a more thorough system of manual training so as to enable the girls to assume the duties and responsibilities of a home and the boys those of farmers, carpentry and other useful trades.

	Total attendance.	Average.
Day... ..	6,259.....	2,876
Boarding... ..	1,644.....	1,477
Industrial... ..	1,882.....	1,655

9,785. 6,008

Gross expenditure for 1885 to 30th June, 1904 :—

Manitoba and Northwest Territories ...	\$3,948,402.77
British Columbia.....	723,074.77
Ontario and Quebec.....	578,212.51

\$5,249,690.05

There are to-day in the employ of the Indian Department 178 doctors, whose duties are to give all reasonable necessary attendance to the Indians from a medical standpoint. It is only natural that in the change from the purely aboriginal life with unrestricted outdoor freedom to that of civilization with the many necessary restrictions, the physical condition of the Indians would suffer, and we find very often that there is a decrease in the population at certain stages of the Indian movement, but, as the Indian becomes accustomed to the newer conditions, the death rate is not so high. Tuberculosis is one of the most prevalent diseases,

arising out of the change, but every necessary precaution is being taken under the direction of the Department to stamp out this disease, and, if the reports of to-day as compared with those of a quarter of a century ago mean anything at all, it is pretty well established that the Indian population is holding its own.

Another feature of the work of the Department to which constant attention is being given is the stamping out of the liquor trade among the Indians. There can be no doubt as to public opinion upon that question, and it is gratifying to know that the action of the Department is ably seconded by the Indians themselves.

It is not for me to prophesy or to state with any degree of definitiveness as to the future of the Indian, whether he has within him the elements of success, using that word in its best sense, may be questioned; but at any rate, there are many inherent qualities making for his betterment, and it is for the Department to see that the process of development is not hindered, but, on the other hand, encouraged in the most emphatic manner. This is about all that can be expected and about all that can be done.

(April 3, 1905.)

What Canada Should Accomplish.

BY HON. CLIFFORD SIFTON.

When your Secretary was good enough to invite me to address the members of the Canadian Club during the present season, I at first thought I should not be able to accept the kind invitation. At that time I was so overwhelmed with official duties, so much so that to take away any portion of my time which seemed necessary for the transaction of those duties seemed to me almost inexcusable. But as you are aware circumstances have conspired to relieve me of a considerable portion of those official duties, and therefore I have been enabled, without sacrificing any public interest, to take the necessary time to do myself the honor and pleasure of being here to-day.

Inasmuch as my duties during the last 13 or 14 years have largely connected me with the transaction of public business, I thought I might best serve the purpose of this meeting and this Club by talking for a few minutes about things which appear to me to be important national objects which Canada may hope to achieve during the next few years. There is a good deal of difficulty at times in the average citizen arriving at our accurate idea of what is being done in connection with the transaction of the public business of this country, and amidst the continuous

stream of words, recrimination and warfare, which goes on between the political parties, it is sometimes difficult to ascertain just the extent of the progress which is being made, and the relative importance of the various things being done. There is a kernel in this work, and the average citizen is better able to discharge his duties which devolve upon him if he understands what that kernel is, and what is being done in the important steps of national progress. Possibly others may not entertain the same opinions as I do, but I will give you what seem to me to be some of the most important things that ought to be accomplished within the next few years.

We shall, as you are aware from the events of the last few weeks, usher into the Confederation on July 1, two new Provinces. I attach great importance to the fact, and I place the birth of these Provinces in the forefront as the most important national event which will take place during the next five or six years. These Provinces, by consent of both political parties—because there has been no serious difference of opinion on this particular matter—will be provided for in a most liberal way in a financial sense. None of the Provinces that have come into the family have been so well provided for financially as Saskatchewan and Alberta. They will come in on July 1, and then proceed to organize all their Provincial institutions, such as we have in all the other Provinces in the Dominion. You will readily understand that the ushering in of these Provinces marks an important era in the history of the Dominion of Canada, because it marks the completion of the scheme of Confederation. When the Fathers of Confederation laid out their plans under the B.N.A. Act, it was part of those plans that the great northwest should be acquired by Canada, and that that territory should ultimately be formed into Provinces of the Dominion. The full fruition of that dream, as it was then, will take place during this year, and we shall then have what our Fathers of Confederation had, a fully equipped chain of Provinces from sea to sea.

I may say that if there is anything further to be done, in my judgment, in the rounding out of Confederation, it will lay in the disposition of the far northern territories. I have expressed my opinion, and I repeat it, that in my judgment the administration of these far northern territories should be cast upon the different Provincial governments as soon as it is possible to do so. Our constitution does not contemplate that the Federal Government should undertake local administration. It contemplates that local administration should be carried on by the local Provincial Governments, and although the necessities of the situation have compelled the Federal Government to undertake local government and administration in the far distant territories of the northwest—districts which lie beyond Ontario, Quebec and Yukon—that is not in accordance with the underlying principles of the constitution. It should be regarded as temporary, and as soon as is reasonably possible these terri-

tories should be allotted to the different Provinces, and the responsibility of local administration cast on them as the constitution contemplates it should be. This will relieve the Federal Government of responsibilities with which it is ill-fitted to cope, because of the fact that every member of that Government charged with such duty cannot have a personal knowledge or familiarity with the work which is necessary in order to make the government efficient.

I place next in importance in respect to what we may hope to receive some substantial results, the question of immigration. I had the pleasure of your invitation on a former occasion, and dealt at some length with the need of the work which has resulted in the substantial increase we have had in our population. When we look back at the disappointing census of 1891, and the almost equally disappointing one of 1901, we must feel the question of getting, keeping, and producing a large population in Canada, to be one of national importance, because it is on the growth of the population that everything depends—the extension of our commerce, markets and manufactures and providing traffic for the great railways and other transportation agencies we are constructing and expending enormous sums of money upon. We may hope without exaggeration that during the next five or six years we shall be able to add from a million to a million and a half to our population, to say nothing of our ordinary natural increase. If that be done a substantial substratum will have been provided for the growth of our commerce and the development of this country and its resources, which will, I think, place the future of Canada beyond any question or doubt.

There is another subject to which I desire to address a few words, that of the construction of the great railways which have been decided upon by the people of Canada. I am perfectly aware that the question of the construction of the Grand Trunk Pacific was a political question some months ago, but it is a matter on which we may perhaps congratulate ourselves that political questions do not last forever, and that they become settled by the arbitrament of the people. There were issues raised in connection with the railway which were finally settled by the vote of the people, and as we all recognize that the people have decided in favor of the construction of the road, I think we should all join in the hope that it will be carried forward with the utmost energy and expedition. I think we may look reasonably, under the present methods of construction, to see the road nearing completion within five or six years from the present time. What does the construction of the railway mean? It means that across the northern parts of Ontario and Quebec we shall have a great line of railway, opening up those great districts to the farmer where there is arable land, to the lumberman, the miner and the manufacturer. More than that, it will bring within easy access the great Hudson's Bay region, a region heretofore only known to a few explorers and persons going on arctic expeditions. It will in fact, at

the terminus, be only from 125 to 150 miles from Hudson's Bay, and I am sure the people of the Province of Ontario will speedily see that that remaining distance is provided with proper means of transportation. I anticipate even that some people in Toronto will, within the next six or seven years, be building their summer cottages on the shores of Hudson's Bay.

This railway will do more. It will focus Canadian trade on Canadian ports; it will provide one-third of the great avenue of transportation across the great northwest; and it will open up the northern portion of British Columbia, a territory as great in its possession of fertile land as the old settled Province of Ontario, and in mineral wealth far beyond any other portion of the Dominion of Canada so far known. The miners of British Columbia have time and again gone near there to find it impossible to exploit by reason of its difficult access and the enormous expense necessary to reach the northern parts. Once the railway goes there we shall certainly have a country more valuable and greater in extent than any other portion of the Province of British Columbia, or any other portion of Canada. I expect long before the Grand Trunk Pacific is built we shall see a railway running from the north-east portion of the north-west territories to Hudson's Bay. That is now regarded, not as a commercial project, but as a thing which will be accomplished within a very short time. Does anybody think that will injure any portion of Eastern Canada? I think we have gone beyond that period in the history of Canada when any intelligent man thinks it necessary to starve one portion to assist the prosperity of another. The construction of the railway will render the whole of the great west more attractive to settlers, and in that way, and numberless other ways, increase the development and the general progress of the Dominion of Canada.

In another way what will be the effect of the construction of these great railways upon the industry and trade of Canada? Let me mention only one particular branch. It is said that an energy of a people is measured by the amount of iron and steel they make use of. In Canada we have to make use of enormous quantities, and we pay enormous sums of money to foreign countries for iron and steel, whilst those who give attention to the economic side of matters, whether protectionists or free traders, have long since admitted that nothing could be better for Canadian commerce than that iron and steel should be made within our own borders. Great efforts have been made to establish the industries on a sound foundation. These efforts have not been altogether successful because of the inherent difficulties of the situation, and because the manufacturers were called upon to compete with the highly developed industries of Great Britain, Germany and the United States. But perhaps that which has stood most in their way has been the lack of a steady and reliable market which for some years could be relied upon not to drive

them out of their business. In connection with these industries the new railways that are being constructed will provide a good market for during the next five or six years they will require an immense amount of steel rails and bridges and locomotives, and iron and steel for many other purposes. You will see that protected as they are by duties levied, we may expect this great industry to be placed on an enduring foundation by the time the great railway enterprises have been carried to completion. That is only one of the beneficial effects which we may hope to see brought about by carrying out the great railway enterprises during the next five or six years.

There is another question not unfamiliar to me, and my purpose in speaking upon it is that it may assist if possible in creating the public sentiment necessary to assist any government which undertakes to carry out the work which I think ought to be done. We are developing a great inland system of transportation, bringing into the country hundreds of thousands of settlers, but we have not yet succeeded in making the outlet of this country at the sea board on the St. Lawrence river what it ought to be for the purposes of our commerce. Remember that Canada is, and must be, an exporting nation whatever our internal trade may be. During the life time of every person here, and the lives of our children, and possibly our children's children, Canada will be first and foremost an exporting country with vast quantities of produce of farm and mine. It is upon the facilities for exporting those products that the adequate remuneration of the men who produce them in the initial stage will depend. If there is anything on which I think the people of Canada should foster a national sentiment it is that the St. Lawrence route should be made just as perfect as science and money can possibly make it. I have said to the gentlemen who were my colleagues only a short time ago, and I am prepared to say to them again at any time, or on any occasion, that I think there is one thing the people of Canada will justify them in doing, and that is to expend whatever amount of money is necessary in order to perfect the route and make it as safe as any ocean route to New York or Boston. It is no use for us to talk about doing great things, about building up commerce and increasing the population unless we provide the necessary economic means for our commerce to reach the markets of the world.

There has been a great deal done, and I do not desire to minimise that. Great sums of money have been spent by succeeding governments under succeeding ministers to perfect the route, but very much more still remains to be done. The whole subject is being studied by a transportation commission, composed of gentlemen whom I believe to be competent and earnest in the matter. I think Parliament, press and the people of Canada should express themselves on this subject in definite, unmistakable terms so that everybody concerned with the work would feel that the eye of the people are upon them, and that they will be rewarded

by approval for efficient work, but certainly meet with condemnation if the work is not properly and efficiently carried out. Ministers are only human like other people. Some people think they are even more human, but certainly they are just as human, and when year after year they carry out important works requiring the expenditure of large sums of money they require some encouragement to induce them to persevere in the great work in which they are engaged. There is no greater work in which any Minister is engaged at the present time than that of perfecting the routes by which our commerce shall reach the markets of the world.

There are other things. There is the equipment of the different parts at St. John, Halifax, Quebec and Montreal, and to some extent Toronto, Fort William and Port Arthur. It is necessary in order that our commerce may have the freest and most economical access to its markets. Every man in Canada is interested in the farmer of the west, and all this is a matter in which everybody so interested can by contributing their portion of public sentiment, push along the great work to a successful conclusion. One thing which is, I am convinced, of great importance, is the establishment of a proper system of consular commercial agents throughout the various foreign countries on behalf of the trade of Canada. We have had great success in the establishment of our emigration agents in foreign countries. The agricultural department has met with great success in giving assistance to the producer in the packing and shipping of produce to foreign markets, but we have to some extent neglected another and important feature of the work which would consist in the proper study of foreign markets by a thoroughly organized, scientific system under the direction of a trade expert who would give undivided attention to the subject, and who would see every possible avenue for Canadian trade and commerce opened up by means of the work of the agents under his direction. I think your Board of Trade in Toronto has already endorsed and expressed the same opinions to the Minister who has charge of the department. Sir Richard Cartwright, the Minister of Trade and Commerce, has to some extent carried out the suggestions made to him. Commercial agents have been appointed in some countries, and I understand that their work up to the present time has been of a thorough and excellent character. What I suggest is, not the appointment of a few agents here and there in desultory fashion, but a thoroughly organized system under which accredited Canadian officials should be appointed to reside, and study trade, in different countries where we may expect to do business, and I am sure we shall find the outlay a profitable one for our trade in general. This can readily be done. It does not take long to accomplish. Difficulties may occur at the outset, but they would be readily overcome, and I should fancy from the little experience I have had, that a great and profitable increase of the trade of Canada would result in carrying the project to a successful conclusion.

Another matter I regard with great importance and hope to see accomplished during the next three years is with regard to our minerals. We have a country of great mineral resources, but they are little known. The geographical survey has done a great and important work by giving us a general knowledge of the territory of Canada, but we have arrived at a period when a much more systematic effort should be made to place a knowledge of the mines and the resources before the people of the world. It has been my duty to have a share during the last eight years in the department of geological survey, and while I find a great deal of time devoted to the study of the department, yet I have arrived at certain conclusions which a couple of years ago I expressed in the House of Commons. My view is that we should have a division of the work of geological work. There should be a small branch devoted to topographical work, and the most capable men for the purpose should be set to make a thorough systematic study of the economic features of our territory. I was delayed in carrying out the project because no proper accommodation existed for the survey. However, a national museum is to be built and the contacts have been let, and there will soon be no reason why a systematic arrangement for studying mining resources should not be made. There will then, as I proposed, be a collection of all the specimens, and any person coming to Ottawa will be able to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the resources of Canada. It can be accomplished with comparative ease, and I can assure you that the results of the work, properly and systematically carried out in developing the wealth and our mineral resources can hardly be exaggerated.

I thank you kindly for the invitation you have given me. I am glad to know that the Canadian Club, which started out so auspiciously has preserved its life and vigor, and I trust you have a long career of usefulness before you.

(April 10, 1905.)

The Future of Canada

BY RALPH CONNOR.

It would be wrong if I said that I felt anything but the greatest pleasure at the distinguished honor of being invited here to-day. It was my pleasure a few days ago to address a meeting of young Canadians in Montreal representing a very important part of the great work Canada has before her in building up our Empire, and I considered that I was standing in the presence that evening of a body of men whose intellectual level was very high indeed, and that any man should feel proud at being asked to speak to them. I feel the same to-day. I am glad to speak to this company because I feel that, more than any other in this city, it represents the better type of Canadian manhood. One thing about the Canadian Club, it is bringing together all the best thought of those who in their deepest hearts are profound lovers of their country.

I thought it might be opportune to take advantage of this occasion to speak about some of the aspects of the future of Canada. I confess frankly that I am quite unable to give anything like an adequate picture, or begin to give anything like one, of what the future of Canada will be for say the next 25, 50 or much less 100 years. We stand unique among the nations of the world. There never confronted any nation of whose history we knew such a future and such a combination of happy circumstances as confront Canada to-day. We are the last of the nations in the making. We have before us unlimited opportunities to extend. The resources we have at our command of which we are now beginning to know very little, are such as surpass the knowledge of any living Canadian and I believe the most vivid imagination of any man in Canada. I believe we have the appliances of civilization, such as transportation, education, and other departments of national life that make for the development of our country, and will accelerate all movements in that direction.

I was thinking that a comparison as to the future of Canada might be made with the United States, from the history of which country I think we as Canadians will gather to ourselves very great room for encouragement and confidence that we have before us, and even in the close future, a very great development. I put down some figures that will perhaps be interesting to us as Canadians. In 1800, at the beginning of the century, the population of the United States was just about the same as ours to-day, so that we are just 100 years behind the States in that respect. A hundred years is a long time, and if we are so much behind

I am afraid it will take us a long time to catch up to them. Fifty years ago the population of the United States had grown to something like 23 millions. Their trade of that day was \$398,000,000; our trade to-day is over \$475,000,000, so that although we are a hundred years behind them in population, we are only 50 years behind them in trade. Even comparing the great Republic with our small Dominion to-day we have some room for encouragement. The trade of the United States to-day, great as it is and reaching into billions, and the trade of Canada only \$475,000,000, still comparing the trade interests per capita with the trade of Canada we make a comforting discovery. The trade of the United States amounts to 33 dollars per capita, and the trade of Canada to 65 dollars per capita. I always anticipate hearty cheering when I make a point like that. I do think it is something to be proud of, and to give us ground for encouragement.

The things that will keep the development of our country are such as population and transportation for the material external development, and then such things as education and national unity to develop the manhood. These are the factors to be considered when we attempt to solve the problems of the future. In the matter of transportation, still comparing ourselves with the United States, I think we also find considerable room for encouragement. Fifty years ago there were in the United States only 9,714 miles of railway. To-day we have 20,000 miles of railway, and besides we have the finest waterways in the world, extending from our eastern seaboard into the heart of our continent, and bringing the capital of the west a very short distance, some 400 miles practically, from the seagoing ships.

I need not take any time to speak of the great undeveloped resources of our country. It is something to speak of with a degree of pride that, small as Canada is, she holds a very high place in some departments of national life and enterprise. In the matter of shipping we stand third to-day in the shipping of the world. In the matter of mines to-day, although we have only just begun to scratch the fringes of the mountains, where the treasures lie, we are third among the nations as a mining country. If I were to particularize some special feature of our resources it would take some time, but taking two we have our wealth in coal and our wealth in wheat. Coal is necessary when speaking of manufacturers and transportation. In the year 1850 there were discovered in the United States only 134,000 square miles of coal beds. That is a great deal, but to-day there is a little coal pit between Red Deer River and the Rocky Mountains where the coal bed extends 65,000 square miles. If this were laid out between Halifax and Vancouver, it would make a strip 17 miles wide, and from Toronto to Montreal, 191 miles wide. This is not all our coal, but only a small coal bed.

I might with great delight to myself speak of other resources. We have the largest forests in the world. Dr. Slack, the great English

specialists in this matter, says that the European countries will very soon be looking to the Dominion of Canada for forest supplies. I hope that the Dominion and Provincial governments will far more seriously consider the question of preserving these great reserves, these vast, vast treasure wealths of Canada. There is a forest in British Columbia, I believe, that is about 700 miles long and 280 miles wide, which I think will keep us in timber for some time. I am also tempted to speak of the fisheries of Canada. This I regard as an infant industry, and I am quite sure that few Canadians realize how great its possibilities are. How vast are the waters both on our eastern and western shores, and on our lakes ! When one begins to talk about fish, or fish stories, one is treading on dangerous ground. In one case a man who was accused of not confining himself to the truth as to the fish he caught, bought a pair of scales to weigh his fish so as to convince his friends. The sequel was that when a baby was born to him and placed on the scales it weighed just 64 pounds. In British Columbia the fish insist on being caught, and in the spring they crowd on the land and die in thousands, whilst steamers on the coast find it a difficulty in making their way through the immense shoals of fish. The mines in British Columbia are also developing, and the industry has at last reached a real solid basis, a great number of them being operated to-day in such a manner as to make them pay.

The foundation, however, of national development and national progress is the soil. The country that grows wheat can, as the Superintendent of the West used to say, grow men, and because Canada is the largest or will be in a few years, wheat producing country in the world, I believe that that itself is enough to secure the future of our country. I notice that last year the United States had under wheat some 50 million acres, producing 748 1-2 million bushels, a large crop indeed, but yet in Manitoba, where we had only two and a quarter million acres, we produced over 50 1-2 million bushels, the ratio in the United States being something like 17 and a fraction per acre, and Canada 25. I am not speaking of the territories, but of that postage stamp on the map about whose victory we are all interested, of that little Province from which one-seventh of this wheat was raised. As to the territories, the most conservative estimate we have, not to speak of Peace River, Mackenzie River, etc., is that we have ready for the plough 135 million acres of the best wheat land. Perhaps the fairer estimate, which I believe myself from observation and information, is that we shall come to find that we have west of the lakes 225 or 250 million acres on which wheat can be grown. So the day may come, and I believe will come before the youngest man here reaches the allotted span, when there will be grown on those western prairies a thousand million bushels of wheat. Just as you cannot keep men from the countries where gold is produced, so you cannot keep men from the countries where wheat grows, and we shall

have, I feel sure, before the country is done, not far short of 100 or 150 million people in the west.

In the making of a nation we must, as thoughtful men, recognize certain other elements. The strength of a nation is determined by the strength and purity of its manhood, and if our manhood of Canada is industrious, sober, and well developed in every sense of the word, then we are to see on this northern half of the American continent a nation equal or superior to that which the world has ever seen.

"Some people have expressed surprise that the clauses in the present Autonomy Bill before the House at Ottawa should have dealt with the lands and the proportion of revenue to be paid to the new Provinces, and that these questions were so little referred to, I believe it is one of the surest signs that the Canadian people are ready and their judgments are true, that there has not arisen any great agitation or any deep feeling in regard to these clauses, but that whenever we touch the question of the education of the children in our land, at once Canadian hearts are alert and Canadian minds intent, and we are all anxious and determined to see that what is wisest and right shall be done.

"I need not give you in this city the history of this Autonomy Bill. I need not discuss with you the constitutional aspect. This aspect is one on which difference of opinion may very, very fairly be expected to exist. Great lawyers have differed about it, as have those who are most expert in understanding constitutional problems, and so I have come to the conclusion, which I believe is shared in by the great majority of you, gentlemen—I know it is the conclusion of the West—and by members of the Citizens' Committee, that inasmuch as it is a matter on which experts may reasonably differ, the wise thing is to refer the points to those authorities whose business it is to consider and pronounce judgment upon them, and after judgment has been obtained, then proceed on a new line of action.

"I believe it is impossible for us in Canada to reach any conclusion that will be perfectly satisfactory to all the people. I think we must expect that. We must expect that on the one flank and the other there will be found extremists, who, whatever the solution arrived at, will not be satisfied, and will not be content. While we expect that to be the case, as earnest and reasonable men we must not slacken our energies until a satisfactory solution of the problem is reached, if such can be attained. After we have had the constitutional points decided, I believe we shall be in a better position to discuss the question further.

"The Federal authorities must observe the limits of their authority at all costs, and respect the proper rights of the various Provinces. This is not a question of education alone. It is a question of education by accident. The first question is that of Provincial rights. It is not a question for us here to discuss or decide, or for the gentlemen of Ottawa to decide, what particular system of schools shall exist in any one

Province. I believe it is within the constitution laid down that the freest scope should be given the Provinces with judgment and legislation to settle these questions for themselves, and if any Province determines on a system of schools we may call 'Separate,' it is not for the rest of that Province or the Dominion Government to interfere with their solution or position.

"And I, for one, object to any man coming to me and asking the use of my voice or influence to aid him in any attack for personal gain upon any enemy whatever. I am not going to walk in his procession; I am not going to let him make use of me; I regard him as an intrusion, and a nuisance to our country. He will not help the solution of this difficulty, but will hinder it."

"Now, I might avoid a snag here, but, as a man knowing the West, I cannot avoid it. Talking about the present system of schools proposed by the compromise—which I don't accept as right—it cannot be called in any real sense a Separate School system, as understood here or as exemplified in Ontario. It is practically a Public School system with the same books, teachers with the same training, and the same inspection—all are found the same as in the Public School. I know you will all say it has this fatal objection that any system which segregates any portion or class of our citizens is mistaken. I agree with that heartily, but at the same time I cannot help remembering that we have a large number of people associated with us out there who have particular views about this thing, and while I do not believe in Separate Schools as a principle, if we are to have them then we have the best possible type is that existing in the Territories. I would not be prepared, and I believe most of those in the Territories are with me, to enter upon a demand to do away with those schools, but I am prepared, and I believe a majority of Western men are prepared, to object to the embodying of any particular system in the constitution of the new Provinces.

"However good and however efficient that system may be to-day, I would like to think that the genius of Western civilization, and the spirit and atmosphere of that Western life, should develop within fifty years, if not sooner, a better system than men can think out to-day for those Provinces. Surely he would be a bold man who would say, because we have a good system, we should embed that in the constitution and so prevent and prohibit any further development.

"Give the West a free hand; let her do her best with her people; and I am sure we can trust her to do well.

"I want to enter a protest here against all those who seek in any way to make capital of the present crisis for creed or for party. I would like to see every gentleman in this company applaud that sentiment. (Loud applause.) I think the men who make use of this present crisis for his personal advantage, for any gain to his creed or race, or for any advantage to his political party, is a man dangerous to his

country. And I believe all true Canadians, in the presence of this—which is a far more serious issue than I believe any of us realize—should have one sole aim in view and should unite in combining our energies to the achievement of one thing, namely, to seek to arrive at the solution that will make for harmony, the peace and the right development of Canada.”

In regard to the recent revelations from Winnipeg, Mr. Gordon asked all Canadians to do as he is doing, reserving the forming of an opinion until all the facts are before the country. As to any interference such as is credited to Mgr. Sbaretti, he said: “In Canada we want it understood that we shall be governed by Canadians. Let the Premier and Cabinet get all the advice they desire from experts of all kinds—we are willing to have them live with us—but when all is said and done, and all information is obtained, then it is for those charged with the responsibility of leading our country to say, ‘These are the laws we propose to put on our statute books, and they are to be there because we have come to the personal conclusion that they are wise and just and right, and not because any man or any section in this country demand them.’”

(April 12, 1905.)

Address

BY H. RIDER HAGGARD.

Like every English visitor, Mr. Haggard found much that was peculiar to him in his travels on this side, and to two of these he made dryly humorous references. Expressing regret at being delayed in his arrival here until yesterday morning, he remarked that he had found there were certain advantages in being late. He had been delayed by a freight wreck, but was gratified to learn that had the freight train not gone off the track it should have collided with the train upon which he was riding; also, if he had not been late he would have been at the bottom of the Colorado River, for the embankment upon which the train was due was washed away.

Then Mr. Haggard told of his arrival in a little American town about 12 o'clock on a certain night of his trip. "I had retired to my room," he said, "and, if you will excuse me, was in my underclothing, when the door opened to admit a large cigar. Behind the cigar was a reporter. I felt very bashful, but the reporter did not. He sat down on the bed and soon put me at my ease. He asked me what was the most remarkable thing I had seen in the United States. I felt like saying, "The most remarkable thing I have seen is your colossal cheek." But you know a man in his underclothing is at a great disadvantage. If one wants to practise repartee one must have on one's waistcoat at least. So I spoke of the vastness of the distances, and such things, and then intimated that I should like very much to go to bed. Do you know what he did? He went away and wrote an article about my underclothing. I read it the next day and was grieved to find out that the underclothing did not please him. He said it was very plain in character. I think I should say now, however, if I were asked what was the most remarkable thing in America, that it was the patience, the supreme faith, the heroism of the people who ride upon its trains."

Dealing with the work of his later years, Mr. Haggard said that he had made some researches and studies in connection with the land and the life in large cities. In England they were in a bad way. At the present moment only one-seventh of the population dwelt in the rural districts. Year by year more were being drawn into the net of the large cities, there to perish, to go under in the cruel race for life. Commander Booth-Tucker could tell of the state of the poor in the large cities, how his great society was called upon to feed thousands of London children before they went to the school that the State provided for them. When they looked at these children what could they think of the criminality, the folly, the madness of a generation which consented to see

the best of its population crowded into slums to swelter, melt and die? What was happening in England was happening in almost every part of the civilized world. The allurements of the cities were drawing the people into them, there to meet with the most bitter disappointments.

The real thing, he thought, back of every other thing, was to ascertain, to discover, if there was any method by which something of that exodus could be prevented or remedied, if it were feasible to remove even some of those, still fit, back to the clean and healthy associations of the land. It was to that purpose that he had devoted his energies. The struggle had been hard, for he had been known only as a writer of fiction, and it was necessary to make a reputation in a new line, and nothing was more difficult to overcome than that of being a writer of fiction. He was not without hope, however, that a solution of the great question would soon be found.

"I am going to ask you why you allow so much emigration to go to the United States, and so little to come to Canada. Why do not you make yourselves better known?" he added. He referred to the little that was heard of Canada in England. They might see a few placards at a railway station, or a farmer who had been to Canada might give a lecture before an audience not exceeding fourteen people at some local agricultural association. It was the duty of the people of Canada to see if something could not be done to divert the stream of Anglo-Saxon blood which was flowing to the Argentine and other alien countries, and help to build up the great Dominion as it should be.

"Try, also," continued Mr. Haggard, "to profit by the mistakes of the world, and do things anew. Try to prevent this conglomeration of your manhood and womanhood in the cities. Give also every possible advantage to the immigrants who come to you. Tend them and care for them, and even if it should be a little to your present loss it will be to your future gain. Remember that they are strangers in a strange land, and also that these immigrants, properly chosen, will compose much of the future of this country. Do what you can individually, and as a nation, and keep your people out of the cities as far as possible.

"Do not start the tenement house of New York or the slums of London in Canada. Keep the people on your rich bounteous land, and ample will be your reward in the future. If you do that this great Dominion of Canada will be the most glorious and enduring link in the girdle of empire which the genius and the might of Britain has fastened round the world."

Commander Booth-Tucker spoke in appreciative terms of the work undertaken by Mr. Haggard. The solution required a mixture of brain, brawn, brass and brotherhood. He hoped the day would soon come when Canada would be setting the pace, and armies of men, women and children would be settled on its land, happy home-owners, cultivating the land by their own labor.

(April 13, 1905.)

Letter

BY REV. C. W. GORDON.

My Dear Mr. Huestis,—I am quite certain you will come to consider me, if you do not already consider me, considerable of a nuisance. I find that my trip to the east will not take place until May; indeed, toward the latter end of it. By that time, I understand from your letter, your club will be in summer quarters. It will, therefore, be impossible for me to do myself the pleasure of lunching with my friends of the Toronto Canadian Club this season. But surely, if we live and things are in a normal condition, we can arrange for next year. Indeed, I think I shall definitely promise myself that indulgence. I should have been greatly pleased to have been able to speak to the men of the Canadian Club of Toronto on some of the possibilities of Western Canada. No man could speak of all the possibilities, for no man living knows these, and there is no Canadian, even the most enthusiastic, with imagination vivid enough to picture the future greatness of this wonderful West.

THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

By the way, I think some one ought to say something to the club, and to all our Canadian clubs, on the question of Provincial rights, which are being invaded so seriously by Sir Wilfrid's new Autonomy bill for the North-West Territories. I can hardly imagine how a statesman of his first-class ability, his sense of what is wise and just, should have fallen into such a serious mistake. He is fastening by constitution, by the act of creation, a system of education upon the Territories which, while it may seem to suit conditions as they are at present, may not be at all suitable in twenty or thirty or fifty years. No Government has the right to lay any country in subjection to the dead hand of the past.

I am the more surprised at Sir Wilfrid because he has shown himself the champion of Provincial rights, and because especially he has shown himself superior to the influence of the clerical party in his Province. No one will doubt for a moment that this legislation is proposed simply because a certain section of our people fear that the interests of their Church will be adversely affected in the creation of the new Provinces. It does seem a strange thing that the Territories, which have during

ALL THEIR PAST HISTORY

dealt in a manner perfectly satisfactory to the Roman Catholics with the school question, should not be trusted to deal with equal fairness with that Church in the future; and while none of us would for a moment

approve of interfering with the secular and religious rights of our fellow citizens, I feel sure that it is in keeping with the genius of Western Canada and with its intensely democratic spirit, that the Provinces should be allowed to work out their own destiny, and should have the fullest control of their internal affairs. The parallel cited by Sir Wilfrid failed to apply simply because they are not parallels.

I cannot tell you how deeply I am disappointed in our Premier, a man who has been to me, throughout his whole career, my ideal of a Canadian statesman, but I cannot help feeling that in this instance he has allowed his judgment to be clouded and his mind to be disturbed from its wonted equitable poise by the undue influence of a bigoted and sectarian group of his followers.

You may imagine how serious I feel this to be when I have allowed it to crop up in this personal letter to yourself. I assure you it is not a question of Separate schools; it is a larger and more vital question than that. And besides, on the Separate school question issue this is a very serious mistake, for surely, with the many nationalities that we have in this country, and the varying forms of religion it is

A THING TO BE DREADED.

and especially guarded against, that the children of Western Canadians should be educated in such a way as to intensify, and to preserve sectional feeling. We shall have Galician schools and Doukhobor schools, and German, Scandinavian, Finnish schools; we shall have Mormon schools and no one knows how many other kinds of schools. I believe in the fullest right given to the various Churches to instruct the children of their faith in connection with the Public school, but I do believe that it is essential to our developing a united and harmonious nation in the West that our children should be educated together. In Winnipeg

THE PRESENT SYSTEM

is working splendidly. We have Roman Catholics and Protestants, Jews and Gentiles, Hungarians, Icelanders and Swiss—all sorts and conditions of children, passing through our Public schools, and so being brought into a sympathetic and friendly acquaintance with each other.

I am quite convinced that this step of Sir Wilfrid's is a step backwards, one entirely opposed to the spirit and genius of the Western people. It is quite possible that owing to party influence, no agitation may take place. It is also possible that the legislation may be hurried through so as to prevent effective protest, but, all the same, to my mind it will be a calamity.

I am glad to see that Sifton and the Western men in Parliament are standing up for Provincial rights. The West will back them up.

(April 17th, 1905.)

Work Among Labrador Fishermen

BY DR. WILFRED GRENFELL.

I thank you very much for the honor that has been paid me in asking me to speak before your influential Club. I do not want to pose as an authority on economic or political questions, but my view leads me to believe that reciprocity between our country, as I call Labrador, and the United States, would be in favor of getting a higher price for fish. I want to be interested in that, and I think it will come about, so that we can sell our fish in a new market. I do believe that high tariffs are in accord with the spirit of the 20th century. I had my bags examined coming over the border, and I do not think that was quite in accord with the spirit either. With regard to Confederation, of course I am a strong Confederate myself, and I should like to see all under one government, because I believe that a great many of these things that stand in the way of our people apply to the fishermen of the Labrador coast. I have been living among fishermen 20 years, and spending most of my time on my little mission ship voyaging up and down the long coast lines of Newfoundland and Labrador, and perhaps I ought to say something about the object of my mission.

I am a missionary and a medical missionary, and I am a missionary because I believe that the best life any man can live anywhere is the Christian life. I had the opportunity of leaving England because I had no family ties, and I was glad of the chance to go to Labrador to see whether anything could be done there. I hate to hear people talking about sacrifice. Some people think they are making a sacrifice by giving a five dollar bill, although they might think they would derive more pleasure in spending it on cocktails or some other purpose. I believe the best way to induce a Christian life is to try and live it as far as you can among the people. I am a believer in sermons and revivals, but I am a far greater believer in the idea that truth is going to be propagated by personal contact. In the field I am in on the Labrador coast we have so many opportunities of teaching the truth that are denied to people who are in the ordinary ministration in civilized countries.

In Labrador there are exceptional opportunities for the exercise of practical Christianity, and the needs of the people in the way of hospitals, sympathy, and help in their life are greater than in more favored communities. One of my objects in coming through Canada on my way back is to try and do what I did ten years ago, to get a small hospital. I had an offer from some people in Ottawa for help to put up another hospital, but certain conditions were laid down and it was withdrawn.

Going back, however, I sailed from England in 1897 in a small sailing vessel of 97 tons, and we ran many risks. For two years I had gone up and down the sparsely-settled and barren coasts, bringing help to all who could be reached, but the dangers of the shoals, fogs and storms was too risky with a sailing vessel. I had not the money to get a steamer so I bought a steam launch 45 feet long with an eight foot beam, and called it the "Princess May." We nearly lost her so often and could not carry the supplies to do surgical work properly in her, that I spent the third year coming to Canada to try and get some help for the work. I did not know a soul in Canada. I had a young Australian friend with me, and we landed at Halifax. We called on the Prime Minister, who was then Mr. Fielding. That gentleman introduced us to his Ministers whom he asked to help us, and he also gave a hand himself. I lectured in Halifax and received great kindness there and we then went on to Montreal. Wondering who we could go to there the Hudson's Bay Company suggested itself to me, and I called on Sir Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, who with his characteristic generosity, at once took great interest in the work. He asked me what I really wanted, and I said: "We must have a steamer." Lord Strathcona said at once: "I will give you one." He appointed a committee to buy one and get it ready, and the result was our present steamer "The Lend a Hand." Lord Strathcona also gave quite a large subscription, and this he has kept up ever since.

On the first three months' cruise I had 900 applications for help in cases of sickness, but I felt that more could be done in the manner of treating the people. Instead of sailing home that year I thought I would go to Newfoundland, and make an appeal to the Governor and the merchants to take up the question of providing a permanent hospital. The result was that enough money was put up for a small hospital, and next year I got the material, and we went and built the hospital. It was only a wood building, but it filled a great want, and in six years so little had been spent on it that last year one of the patients got his ear frozen while lying in bed. There was never any proper heating apparatus, but as it was the best building I could get, it is not the kind of building I am going to have. The following year we built another hospital about 200 miles further north on an Island in the Atlantic where fishermen are continually passing, and must indeed pass. They like to run in, and although they do not always want legs cut off, they often want help in many other ways.

A fisherman's whole year's living is often made in two or three weeks. He will catch enough cod, if he is on the right spot to give him a full load, that will give him bread and butter for a year. If he happens to be laid up with a bad wound, which is a common thing among them, or any kind of illness, and medical help is not forthcoming, the whole of the following year must be spent in extreme poverty. These

are the cases I want to help not alone to prolong the lives of the men, but because by preaching that kind of gospel we are transmitting into every day life the gospel of Jesus Christ, to bring health to the sick, clothe the naked and feed the hungry. Last year we furnished another, or third hospital at the north end of Newfoundland. Anyone can come and see our hospitals, and I know a number who are coming from Canada this year. Some are coming to see the eclipse of the sun which is going to be visible over a fifty-mile area, and a South American expedition will also be there.

We have been treating about two thousand people every year, some suffering from minor troubles, and some very serious troubles, and we get all kinds of operations to perform. I am a general medical practitioner and when it comes to other kinds of surgery to which specialists are accustomed, I cannot do it so well. In order to meet that difficulty I have tried to get specialists to come and pay me a visit for their holidays. We have been trying to lure the Admiralty into charting the perilous coast lines, and as we have now told the officials of the splendid salmon fishing during the summer they will, I think, send up their boats. I have also been successful in securing two medical specialists to sail on my boat this summer, so that some of those poor fisher-folk of the Labrador will get for nothing the best special American surgery. The doctors give their services freely and for the love of God.

We meet with a good deal of success in the ordinary way, and the day of miracles is not yet passed. I picked up two old men last summer. One was about sixty, had a double cataract, and was as blind as a bat. The other old man, who was picked up 50 miles further south, was suffering in the same way. They turned out to be brothers, and had not seen one another for six years, neither could they then, but they can see each other now. The miracle was done with a knife instead of by a touch of the finger, and that is the gospel that appeals to them. Our work is purely undenominational. When a man applies to join our staff and he comes to the work for the love of God, I do not ask him whether he is an Episcopalian—although I am myself—or any other alien, and of course the salary and social opportunities are not likely to tempt him. Last winter two young fellows brought an old lady, their mother, 60 miles from the south on a dog sleigh. She was suffering from a tubercular ankle, and had to have a leg off. She recovered after the amputation and went back home on the sleigh. In the summer she expected me to put a new leg on. I had been collecting all sorts of odds and ends, and last year I got a parcel containing three artificial legs, and one of them, which belonged to a Congregational clergyman named Davies, fitted my old lady beautifully, and she is now peregrinating on it. I met Mr. Davies again and he finished the story. He said the person who had originally worn the leg died, and his wife not liking to see any reminder of her husband behind, sent the leg along to him. It



turned out that the man was a Baptist, so that this leg was donated to me an Anglican by a Congregational minister, who got it from a Baptist, and I fitted it on to a Roman Catholic fisherman's wife, so that it was going to end its days in the bosom of the church.

With regard to other kinds of work I can assure you that in the life of the Labrador fishermen they need all their physical capacities, but one of the classes of people who need the gospel most are those who have been unable to do any saving owing to the system of trade, and weakened by the failure of their physical powers from old age they are quite incapable of feeding themselves. There are many old couples like that. One old Roman Catholic fisherman who was waiting for me last summer was stone blind, and there was no persuading the man that it could not be cured. His wife was just crying for joy when we landed. We took the old man with us and steamed away to our northern hospital and there we left him. He was washed and given clean clothing and fed for six weeks and got better in general health. He went back and told everybody he could see much better. There is no doubt that a great deal of suffering is induced by the poverty of the people, and we believe that the trouble is largely due to the system, the truck system of trade which is carried on, and we want to try and do something to upset it. I know that such a system makes it impossible for the poor men either to save, to be thrifty, or to get out of debt, and if you want to preach an unpopular sermon entailing the condemnation of the people take for your text: "Owe no man anything." They are born in debt, live in debt, and the probability is that they will die in debt.

We started some co-operative stores on the coast, but we had every kind of difficulty. There was not a man who could keep accounts. We did not thrive at first, but for all that in ten years that store was copied in four different places, and they have done so well as to make people independent. These little things are preaching sermons of a different, but invaluable kind in relation to the economies of the coast. With regard to education a large number of people, most of whom in fact could not read, and those who could did not read anything worth reading. We started small libraries up and down the coast and had about 100 books. I wanted to have more and wrote to the great librarian, Andrew Carnegie, and I am glad to say he sent me money enough to provide books along the coast. That is a good thing, for in Labrador where there is so much literature that is not wanted. We found that among many of the fishermen there was no ambition to learn, but we have now hundreds of good books which help to make the men patriotic, whilst there are a lot of works on various handicrafts. "The Swiss Family Robinson" is very popular, and has been the means of making people read other books. I know one man who read it first. He told the story to nearly everybody, and there was hardly a man in the harbor who does not want to learn to read. These things create a desire, and we are hop-

ing as time goes by to educate the children. We are starting a kind of boarding school to educate the children of the trappers who now take the children with them so that we have not been able to get them to the little schools. It is quite pathetic the way some come and want to be taught. I have a young fellow about 25 this year who is giving work building boats all the winter so that he may be taught by me. I am hoping to send him to a larger school where men of eminence have gone in with no more learning than he possesses now, and who are doing well in different parts of the world.

It has been the custom in the past when a man died to leave the children with the next door neighbor, and the happy father of one child would make up with half a dozen extra. He would take them. I have seen an Esquimaux bringing up the little children belonging to a man who was shot by accident. That order of things is now changing. The people simply wait till I come along, and they give the children mostly to me. Why, I have more children than any bachelor in the room. Just before Christmas I had a donation of three. Some of the children I have brought to this country, and taken others to England and the United States. I got a letter only a minute ago from a doctor who is just going abroad asking me whether I would send one of my children from the coast. That is the way we get the children places and good homes, and they turn out well. Our work is done in small ways as well. I have even imported 100 footballs. I am a great admirer of the game and used to play myself. It is not only for the sport; but it brings the people together. You may say why: Why don't they build boats? The fact is they are too poor even to buy twine and nails, so that to get them together in a game of football has educational advantages, besides teaching them self-control. We have, I don't know how many, Christmas Trees, and I have had the privilege of preaching the gospel amid an exhibition of legless dolls and damaged tin horses. The people make Christ's birthday the birthday of their children. You ask a Labrador man the birthday of his child, and he cannot tell you, and because of their poverty they have no reason to keep birthdays.

The reason I go to Labrador and stay there, is because I find pleasure in going and the pleasure I find in the scope for the use of many talents which would be quite useless in this country. I am magistrate for the coast, wreck commissioner, and a few other things. I do not know anything about law. I only try to administer equity. The last case I had was where a poor fellow came to me. He had a cow, which is a very "rare bird" on the coast. One morning he found it lying dead in the woods, and when he came away he saw two dogs belonging to a neighbor almost as poor as himself. The rule of the coast is if you can trace who killed the cow he must pay for it. The man who owned this cow could not be sure, but knew there were no other dogs about,





and he accused their owner. The court decided that the cow should be cut in two, the man who owned it to keep one half, and the other man to pay for the half he took. The trouble was we did not know the value of the cow, but it was agreed to at \$20. We gave the man who owned it half the cow and \$10, and the other man had his half. The man who was accused, being rather astute, had cut up his half quickly and sold it in roasts and steaks for \$12, so that he made a profit of \$2.

I have been an uncompromising foe to alcohol all my life. I am a teetotaller, and have never been ill in my life, and if I am taken ill I reckon I shall be able to get on without alcohol. I consider, after twenty years amongst deep sea fishermen the greatest danger, and far greater than fogs, storms, and shoals, is whiskey and rum. If it is not only for the men also losing their self-respect and honour, it is the wives and children who have to starve. In one case last year a man brought with him a couple of barrels of whiskey, a barrel of rum, and some gin. The boat signalled that it came for fish and asked for a pilot. A man went out with his three lads to bring in the boat. The boat never came in, the man and the boys never did, and a widow was left behind. We closed the last saloon in Labrador in 1902. My ship had just gone into winter quarters. I was going home, and a telegram was put in my hand stating that a large barquentine loaded with salt fish, was wrecked opposite the only saloon on the coast. It was too late for any barquentine to be on the coast, and she was insured for \$45,000. I got an old sailing captain, we hired a steamer, and left at once for Labrador. When we got there we found that the ship, described as on her beam ends, was on the rocks, but in a snug place. The ship we found had been bought in by the saloon-keeper for \$80. We jettisoned the cargo and came to the conclusion that the ship had been put on the rocks on purpose. We closed the saloon, and the proprietor is now spending his time learning the more remunerative occupation of making brushes in the penitentiary. I rejoice to be going back soon. I shall be cruising the coast, and if any of you gentlemen are going down that way I shall be glad to see you either to have a leg off or anything else.

Annual Report of the Literary Correspondent, Season, 1904-5.

Mr. President and Fellow Members of the Canadian Club,—The special duty of the Literary Correspondent during the two years I have had the honor of holding the position, has been the preparation of a report of the proceedings of the Club for printing and supervision of the work of publication. During the season 1903-1904 the work was something of an experiment. As you know a report was issued in pamphlet form every two months and only a few of the addresses were printed verbatim, the others being more or less condensed. The feeling was that it would be better to economise as much as possible until the wisdom of the undertaking was clearly established, but I think after one season's trial it was the unanimous wish of the Club that the custom be continued. In doing so two methods are open. Either to issue the addresses periodically, perhaps monthly, with the possibility of developing a Canadian Club magazine, or to hold all the addresses to the end of the season and issue them in one volume. This year the latter plan has been followed and the work of printing is now under way. The volume will be superior in many respects to the combined parts of last year, both in typography and in matter. With the exception of three or four the addresses are given verbatim and altogether the volume will be one which I believe every member of the Club will prize and preserve.

Many of the addresses cannot but prove to be valuable works of reference. As an instance; in spite of the torrent of eloquence both oratorical and typographical that has swept over this country regarding the Educational Clauses of the Autonomy Bill, two half hour speeches delivered before our Club epitomized, each in a form rarely surpassed, the cases for and against separate schools, and any student of the question could not do better at the outset of his investigation than read those two addresses. I refer to the deliverances of Mr. J. S. Willison and Mr. Paul Martineau. The address on the Civil Service delivered by Prof. W. S. Milner revealed deep study upon a timely subject and will doubtless be frequently referred to in coming years. Or again what member of the Club will not thoroughly enjoy re-reading the delightful and inspiring address by Prof. Wyckoff on "Industrialism," Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun's address on "Anglo-American Diplomacy," which I may mention was published in full by at least one English journal. Mr. Frank Pedley's paper on "The Indians of Canada," Prof. Colby's charming essay on "Patriotism and History," Capt. Hunter's satire on "Canadian Justice," Dr. Grenfell's address on "Labrador Conditions," Mr. Lighthall's on "Municipal Government," Mr. Stewart's on "Canadian



Banking," are some of the other addresses from gentlemen with special knowledge of their subjects which may be described as classic deliverances.

During the year the Club has listened to another type of address which was important not so much on account of the subject as the personality and prominence of the speaker. In this connection may I refer to a new function the Club has developed, and which was never thought of by the organizers. Whether it is generally realized or not, the Club has become informal entertainer for the city. Officialdom does not often recognize a visitor who does not bear an official introduction and the Canadian Club, not bound by any such red tape, has on numerous occasions brightened the visits of celebrities by the rapt attention we have given their words if not by the "Spartan simplicity of our luncheons." We have several times secured addresses from prominent men who but for the opportunity afforded by the Club would have made no public utterance in this city or perhaps in Canada. The Club has been specially fortunate in listening recently to such addresses as those by his Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Morley, Prof. Bryce, Rider Haggard, and Forbes Robertson—and at the same time we have probably sufficient self-esteem to believe that each of the gentlemen mentioned was glad to meet such a typical Canadian audience as he did at our meeting.

All these addresses in one volume will shortly be distributed, one to each member. In addition a number of copies may be placed on sale at \$1.00 a volume.

In laying aside the cares of office let me express the hope that the Club will always print its addresses and always have addresses so deserving of publication as those of the past year. I bespeak for my successor in continuing the work the best moral and financial support the Club can give.



Secretary's Report, Season 1904-1905.

The present membership of the Club, consisting of members in good standing, is 1,082, of which 1,059 are paid up and the balance 23 are members whose fees are not yet overdue. There is also a "Waiting list" of 45 names. 243 new members have been elected since the last annual meeting.

During the year, 180 names have been struck off the Roll for non-payment of fees or resignation.

During the past season, 30 meetings have been held; 23 regular luncheons, 5 special and 2 evening meetings. The average attendance at these 30 meeting has been exactly 250. The highest attendance during the year was 550 on two occasions, and the lowest 66.

The Executive Committee have held 18 meetings, with an average attendance of 10.

In November last the Executive Committee decided to hold the future meetings of the Club in the Temple Building—and contracted with Geo. Coles, Ltd., to cater for the luncheons.

Contracts were made with the three daily morning papers to advertise the meetings every Monday morning. The result, in attendance at the luncheons, not being at all satisfactory, the Secretary was then instructed to notify the members, of all meetings, by printed post cards.

The above experiment, though considered necessary at the time, proved rather costly, as the Treasurer's Report will no doubt show in detail.

PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS.

Date 1904	Speaker.	Attendance.
May 19.	Special Meeting—Hon. A. B. Morine on "Newfoundland".....	260
Sept. 12.	Special Meeting—His Grace The Archbishop of Canterbury.....	550
Oct. 3.	(Evening)—Rt. Hon. James Bryce, M.P.....	414
" 10.	Brigadier Archibald on "Prison Work.".....	105
" 17.	W. D. Lighthall on "Municipal Government.".....	105
" 24.	General Discussion, "Naval Defence".....	66
" 31.	Rt. Hon. John Morley, M.P.....	550
Nov. 7.	D. M. Stewart on "Banking in Canada.".....	110
" 14.	Prof. Adam Shortt of Queen's University, "Party System.".....	115
" 21.	Dr. W. H. Drummond on "Politics in Ontario.".....	325
" 28.	Capt. A. T. Hunter on "Higher Hay-forkism.".....	200



Date. 1904	PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS.— <i>Continued.</i>	Attend- ance.
	Speaker.	
Dec. 5.	Hon. G. E. Foster, M.P., on "Reciprocity and Preferential Trade.".....	175
" 12.	A. H. U. Colquhoun on "Anglo-American Diplomacy.".....	150
" 29.	Special Meeting—Prof. Wm. Osler, F.R.S., on "Anglo-Canadian and American Relations," and the 40-year Limit	365
1905		
Jan. 9.	Prin. D. M. Gordon, of Queen's University, on "Political Purity.".....	200
" 13.	Special Meeting—Forbes-Robertson on "Art".....	400
" 23.	Dr. Harlan P. Beach, F.R.G.S., on "China.".....	200
" 30.	Capt. Duncan Campbell, D.S.O., on "Political Situation in England.".....	110
Feb. 6.	(Evening)—Com'r. A. P. Low on "Hudson Bay Expedition.".....	200
" 13.	Prof. W. S. Milner; of Toronto University, on "English Civil Service.".....	125
" 20.	Hon. T. Nosse on "Trade with Far East.".....	275
" 27.	J. S. Willison on "North West Autonomy, etc.".....	330
Mar. 6.	Prof. Chas. W. Colby, of McGill, on "Patriotism and History.".....	175
" 13.	Paul G. Martineau, K.C., on "The Case for Separate Schools.".....	225
" 20.	Prof. Walter A. Wyckoff, of Princeton, on "Industrialism.".....	375
" 27.	Frank Pedley on "Indians of Canada.".....	125
Apr. 3.	Hon. Clifford Sifton, M.P., on "What Canada should accomplish, etc.".....	375
" 10.	"Ralph Connor" on "Future of Canada.".....	325
" 12.	Special Meeting—H. Rider Haggard and Com'r. Booth-Tucker.....	375
" 17.	Dr. Wilfred Grenfell on "Work among Labrador Fishermen.".....	250
" 27.	Annual Meeting.	

Of the above list of speakers, 5 are members of the Club, 21 are Canadians, 6 were distinguished British visitors, 1 Japanese, and 1 citizen of the United States.

That the interest in Club meetings is not waning, is proven by the fact that the average attendance during the past two months—March and April—has been 278.

I beg to move the adoption of this report.

(Sgd.) A. E. HUESTIS,

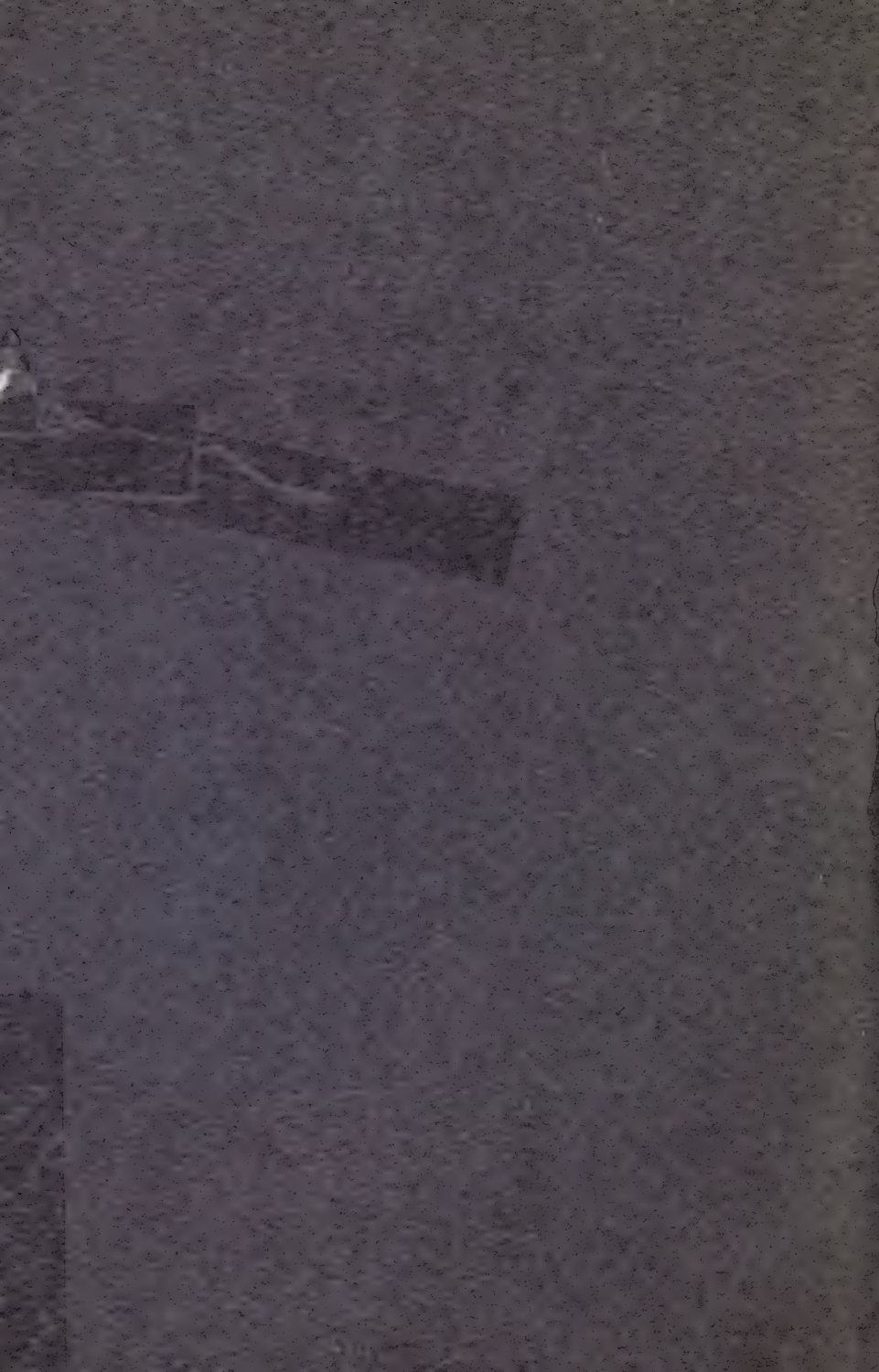
Seconded by S. J. SHARP.

Secretary.



Proceedings of the
CANADIAN CLUB, Toronto
for the Year 1905-1906

VOLUME III.



ADDRESSES

DELIVERED BEFORE

The Canadian Club *of* Toronto

SEASON 1905-06

Edited by the Literary Correspondent



314404
— 4 — 35
6

TORONTO :
WARWICK BRO'S AND RUTTER, LIMITED



The Canadian Club

TORONTO

(Founded 1897)

Officers and Executive Committee

Season 1905-06

President

E. R. PEACOCK

Vice-Presidents

1st, JOHN TURNBULL

2nd, R. HOME SMITH

Secretary

A. E. HUESTIS

Literary Correspondent

J. H. W. MACKIE

Treasurer

T. H. MASON

Committee

G. A. MORROW

FRANK M. GRAY

S. J. SHARP

J. SHIRLEY DENISON

DR. A. J. MACKENZIE

K. J. DUNSTAN

A. H. U. COLQUHOUN

GEO. A. HOWELL (Ex. Officio)



CONTENTS.

The Colonial Conference: JEROME K. JEROME	7
Profit-Sharing: THEODORE COOKE TAYLOR, M.P.	9
Taxation of Corporations: PROFESSOR ADAM SHORTT	17
Why the Japanese Fight as They Do: W. RICHMOND SMITH	29
The French-Canadian: CHARLES MARCIL, M.P.	38
Things that Make a Nation: REV. T. B. KILPATRICK, D.D.	51
American Forestry: HON. GIFFORD PINCHOT	58
Canadian Transportation: CHAS. M. HAYS	62
The Place and Power of Music: CHAS. W. ALEXANDER	69
The Work at Tuskegee: BOOKER T. WASHINGTON	74
"Canada—A Conservative and Progressive Force Among the Nations": REV. DR. R. S. MACARTHUR	91
A Canadian Farmer on the Tariff: E. C. DRURY	96
Banking in Relation to Trade: HON. JAMES H. ECKELS	100
Electrical Smelting: DR. EUGENE HAANEL	106
The Imperial Crisis: PROF. STEPHEN LEACOCK	114
Duty Toward the Insane: HON. W. J. HANNA	118
The Relation of Physical Training to Modern Civilization: DR. GEORGE J. FISHER	123
Paper and Slides on Civic Improvement: J. P. HYNES	128
The Criminal and His Needs: W. P. ARCHIBALD	129
A Comprehensive Plan for Toronto: B. E. WALKER	134
First Words in Canada: ANDREW CARNEGIE	139
Report of Literary Correspondent	159
Secretary's Annual Report	162



THE CANADIAN CLUB OF TORONTO.

(November 2, 1905.)

The Colonial Conference.

BY JEROME K. JEROME.

Mr Jerome K. Jerome was the guest of the Club and spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I do not know whether they ever came over here,—the Gilbert and Sullivan operas,—but if they did some of you are perhaps old enough to remember one of them—"Patience"—and I think the poet in that opera—he is followed about by a bevy of young and beautiful girls—it is this meeting that has reminded me of that opera—(laughter)—and they asked him to read poetry and to go on talking poetry to them, and he reminded them that it was Saturday afternoon and getting on to two o'clock, and that he would like an afternoon off. (Laughter.) In the same way, gentlemen, I am going to ask you to let me have an afternoon off from what is supposed to be my usual business in life. What little ability I have to amuse I am just now **keeping carefully for the evening**—(laughter)—and the supply I feel is so very limited that I dare not give any of it away before, and besides that, gentlemen, it is a great relief for me occasionally to get away from what is supposed to be shop.

I have been told that you are quite willing to listen to anything at all, it does not matter what a man talks. (Laughter.) The great thing is that he talks. Now, we Englishmen have not many virtues, but one is that we are not fluent talkers. Now I propose to be serious, because I am told that you gentlemen are cheerfully prepared to hear both sides of a question, and that being so, and audiences of that kind being so rare to find in any country, it has occurred to me that you perhaps might allow me as an Englishman to speak on the other side of the question that is interesting we Englishmen and you Colonials at the present moment.

I refer, of course, to this question of protection which is coming up at the Colonial Conference next year in England, and merely as an outsider, as a man quite outside of politics, merely as an observer and one who knows something of the state of affairs and the state of life generally

in England, I would like to ask you gentlemen to consider the case very carefully, and when you are selecting delegates for that Conference I would like you to choose broad minded men, statesman-like men, who would be able to look at the thing from an Imperial point of view, and not merely from the Colonial point of view, because I do not think this point has been put to you Colonials at all, and I do not think you can grasp the state of things in England. I do not think you understand what poverty is as we understand it. I do not think you know that class of working men—it is a common class of working men in England—who have to live—if he is working and in receipt of wages he perhaps receives five dollars per week. The great mass do not make three dollars a week; they live on that, they pay heavy rent, and support families, and therefore it becomes a very serious question when they are asked on these poor wages to put their hands in their pockets and pay five or ten cents more per week for their living. There are two or three families living near me in a village in Oxfordshire of whom I made inquiries before I came away. Let me tell you this. I found that the average wages are three dollars a week—twelve shillings a week—and one man had six children and another five, and the other had thirteen. The man with thirteen children lived in a hovel of four rooms, one of which was a kitchen and one was a sort of storehouse, a shed with the boards coming right down to the ground. No repairs had been done for him at all, and the whole thirteen slept in the two upper rooms. And they did this on twelve shillings a week.

That is not an exceptional case. There are tens and tens of thousands of these in England. And when you are going to ask them for the cause of the Empire to pay another shilling a week for their children's bread you are doing a dangerous thing, because this agitation has started a party in England, a party we don't want to listen to or hear from, but they are beginning to say, "If the Colonies are going to cost us something and make us pay more for what we buy, we would rather be without the Colonies." It is a dangerous party in England, it is a party dangerous to let talk to working men. And I want you to consider that, because all the thoughtful people in England are very keen and very anxious about this question of Empire, and to keep our Colonies close to us and to bind them closer is the great object of every thinking man in England. And therefore England would go to great length to meet any demand which you might express formally. If you went and said, "We really want this preference on food," I believe you would get it, but I believe it would be the beginning of the end of the Empire, because men would go among the working classes and say, "Your children are starving, although the farmers and laborers in Canada and Australia are already well off. You have to put your hands in your pockets and pay in order that their wages may be increased."

I do not like to say what the answer of the British working men would be in the long run. I have not seen it in your papers nor in the

English papers. And that is all I want to impress upon you, that when this question comes up to be considered you will send men to look at things for themselves, men who will not merely shut themselves up in their room with the advocates of protection and look for nothing else. Send over men who have initiative of their own, men of observation, men who can be trusted to find out the truth for themselves, and not take merely what they are told, men who go after the truth.

We Englishmen are not fluent talkers, and there is the end of that. (Applause.)

I thank you for the quiet courtesy with which you have listened to me, because you are not supposed to be friendly to this cause. Therefore I feel all the more grateful for your attention. I only have to thank you for your very cordial welcome to me. It is one of the joys of England that her people may go to almost any quarter of the globe and find Englishmen all around. It seems as if one could belt the globe and always find friends, Englishmen, and it is one thing that ought to make us proud of being Englishmen that we can always find our friends. I have certainly found a great many here to-day. It has given me great pleasure in talking to you about these things. Of course, one gets sentimental, and then one gets rambling and incoherent. But I think, as plain business men, as men of the world, you will understand these little feelings. It is really a great enjoyment to find Englishmen here and to find a welcome awaiting me, and, gentlemen, I thank you very much indeed for it. (Loud cheers.)

Profit-Sharing.

BY THEODORE COOKE TAYLOR, M.P.

Mr. Theodore Cooke Taylor, M.P., Batley, England, addressed the Club upon the subject of Profit Sharing as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, and Fellow Business Men,—Students of the history of civilization may well believe that the organization of industry has not yet reached its final form. All who take an interest in the present relations of capital and labor or employer and employee must recognize that the too prevalent mutual distrust and suspicion, nay, even the absence of good will, not only diminishes the actual natural amount of wealth produced in industries, but is a standing menace to the fabric of society. And surely all of us, whether of the capitalist class or not, hope to see, sooner or later, lightened and brightened the lot of the industrial toiler. Human nature everywhere is made of the same stuff. Our workmen in all material respects are like ourselves. They, too, are very much what we, their employers, make of them. On the other hand, I am glad that the average employer is not the hard-hearted villain that he is so often

painted. A very large number of employers, I am quite sure, in this country as well as in the Old Country, are ready and willing to do more than they now are doing for their employees if they could be convinced that they could afford it and could continue to afford it.

My own approach to profit sharing was from this standpoint. And may I ask your indulgence if I speak mainly from my own experience even at the risk of appearing egotistical and subjective. I want to say this because I am going to explain and illustrate it from my own experiences, and the history of our own case must begin with myself.

Very early in life I asked myself, "How can I do the greatest amount of good in the world?" A question which no doubt every young man asks himself. And it seemed to me that after the members of my family those who had most claim upon my sympathy and help were my own workers. I have no faith in Mrs. Jellaby's religion. I do not believe in any man not sweeping before his own door and going about the world crusading to set other people right. Well, sir, I am a woollen manufacturer of the fourth generation. Mr. grandfather—you will excuse these particulars, because it is a little necessary as illustrating the condition of things in the country where it is not like it is here—my grandfather bought the site of one of the principal mills, which is our headquarters, in 1820. Ours is a great family concern, but those who know the woollen trade know very well that a man or a firm cannot live on its reputation for four years, let alone four generations. We have to keep up to the mark now as in all other trades nowadays. You know you can lose a reputation in a year that it took a man fifty years to acquire.

Born, as it were, an employer of labor, I early adopted theoretically the principle of profit sharing as the best means of paying the highest wages, but it was only in 1892, when I succeeded to the complete control of our business that I for the first time in my life had the opportunity of putting my theories into practice. We then had 600 work people. The proper place to begin always is with the main class of man, with the managers of the business. I did that and then I went forward to the foremen, and three years later, in 1895, solely for the purpose of working out profit sharing, we converted our business into a private limited liability company. We took the capital in our books—there is neither water nor wind in our capital—(applause)—and nothing even for good will. We pay at least as high wages as our competitors, and out of the net profits at the end of every year, after $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest is paid on all capital, all further dividend is shared between capital and labor at the same rate per cent.

Here is an illustration—I won't give you actual figures, because we do not publish them; we only publish the rate of dividends. We say the people outside have nothing to do with the capital, because it is a private concern. Take a business concern with a capital of \$100,000. They pay \$50,000 a year in wages and show profits at the end of the year—very

moderate profits—of \$14,500. Under our scheme we would first appropriate $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., \$4,500, as interest on the capital. Then probably we should pay an additional dividend of 5 per cent. on the capital, \$5,000, and 5 per cent. on the wages, which were \$50,000 paid during the year, \$2,500, a total of \$12,500, leaving \$2,000 to carry forward or to carry to reserve.

But this wages bonus or workers' share of profits is payable only to those who have been in our employ the whole of that particular year. The bonus on that part of our year's wages bill which consist of fractions of a year, instead of being paid to individual workers, is carried to a special fund, called the Workers' Benefit Fund, out of which we help our workers in case of misfortune, illness, death, etc. I am glad to say that during the past year we have sent two women to a convalescent home, and I believe in each case we have saved the life of the woman—they were two consumptive cases. (Applause.) As this fund grows we expect from time to time to increase the number and scale of benefits to our work people. But of course, the great bulk of bonuses payable at the end of the year goes to the individual workers, for most of them have been the whole year with us. Each of such worker's share of profits goes to him in proportion, of course, to the amount of his earnings during the year, and is given to him not in cash, but in shares of the company. This is a most important feature of our scheme and is of slowly growing but far reaching influence.

Up to the present every share so granted carries with it no voting power. The shares given to the workmen have no power of controlling the concern, but I hope the time is coming—I believe the time will come before long—when to those the fittest among our people we shall be able safely to confer the power to vote.

Thus far, since the adoption of profit sharing, our business has been continually extending, one legitimately employing the capitalized profits represented by the new bonus shares which are issued from time to time, but, as the principal shareholder myself, I realize that my duty to those who will follow me in the management of the business and my duty to my family make further enlargement of our business undesirable. We have issued shares almost up to the limit of our registered capital, and I hope to stop there. If, therefore, we are able, as I hope we shall be, to continue to declare bonus dividends to workers, I shall from year to year sell back to the company for cash a proportion of my shares for the purpose of future apportionment among the workers as bonuses. We shall thus go through the process which I maintain every private concern should do, namely, the senior partner gradually withdraw both capital and services in favor of younger men. (Applause.) I hope that the older gentlemen are applauding that. (Laughter.)

I ought further to add that the leading men in our business, the managers, travellers, salesmen, designers, all the leading managing men, not

only share profits the same as every other worker does, but I lend them money on the security of their shares to enable them to buy more shares to build up a capital such as the workers control of the business. It is, in fact, my continual study in every possible way to identify the interests of workers, manager and capitalist. I want not only to make the workers, capitalists, but also to train them for the responsibilities which ownership of capital carries with it. These processes are slow, as nearly all the best work is, gentlemen, but if they are begun in the right spirit and carried on on sound lines, they are sure of success.

Our shares are divided into two classes, the original capitalist or "A" shares of £5 each, and these shares of course have the voting power to controlling power; and "B" shares of £1 each, which we use from time to time to issue as bonuses. At the time of the formation of the company four years ago, I was absolute owner of the entire business, and therefore I made myself a life director, so long as I pleased, of the whole concern. I still own a majority of "A" shares. Subject to my veto, however, we already have at work an Executive Committee, which will become the Directorate upon my retirement or death, and is acting as the Directorate at present while I am at this side of the Atlantic; for, like all good business men, I have always looked forward and tried to provide successors not only for everybody else, but for myself. (Applause.) We have our annual workers' meeting early in the year. It is of a partly festive and partly business character, and our thirteen hundred work people look forward to my declaration of the dividend thereat with a certain amount of interest. Now, as you are no doubt quite unaware of the dividend story I have to tell you, because it is a very mixed affair, the story which I am going to tell you—you will naturally be interested to hear of the dividend we pay. Our dividends have been:—For the year 1895—remember it is on the very modest capital, no water and no gas—was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., for 1896 it was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., 1897 nil, 1898 nil—we had two very bad years and it was a trying time for the scheme. I remember very well that a newspaper at that time headed its paragraph report of the meeting: "Profit sharing; failure of the experiment." There was no failure to divide the profit; the failure was to make it, that is all. (Laughter.) That was 1897 and 1898. Of course the same newspaper has been lauding us to the skies a great deal more than we deserve since then. In 1899 we were able to resume and to pay $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1900 $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1901 $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., in 1902 12 per cent., in 1903 12 per cent., in 1904 $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. I do not know what it will be for 1905, something, I hope. But then including the two bad years, it averages 8.2 per cent. You have to remember that in addition the workers got during these years all their wages paid, out of the profits declared always $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. less than these dividends. Then the workers have got nearly 4 per cent. average on the wages during these years, and got last year 10 per cent. on their wages in addition to these capitalist's dividends. Well, any shareholder leaving the company's

employ must within six months sell his shares, and the bonus shares must be sold only to some one in the employ of the company.

I have told you already that ours is a private business as far as we can keep it so, consistent with giving our work people an interest in it. I mean to keep it so. In the case of a worker's death or retirement from work, specially favorable conditions allow the family of the deceased or retired worker to retain the shares, and nothing gives us greater pleasure than to welcome at our annual meetings our old veteran shareholders who have retired from work. The full conditions upon which "B" shares are issued are printed upon the back of every "B" share certificate. So that when a man gets a few bonus shares coming to him, all with the liability limited—because I am not going to present a man with a liability—he can see the conditions under which he holds it.

Well, we have practised profit sharing altogether for thirteen years, three with the chief employees of the company and ten with every man, woman and child. We have not many children in our employ, and when I say that we have about half women in our employ you understand some of the difficulties we have and that the number of employees who are apt to leave is increased. I must admit that although I have great respect for the ladies they are a little more difficult to deal with sometimes than the sterner sex. At all events, they have not the feeling, naturally, of permanency in their employ, because we know that the normal career of a woman is another one. (Hear, hear.) When you ask, gentlemen, what are the results, I must ask you to distinguish between profit making and profit sharing. I need not tell you, an audience of business men, that it is a great deal easier to divide money than it is to make it. Any fool knows that, and I am certain that it takes a good deal of wisdom as well as courage to inaugurate a sound and sensible system of profit sharing. Well, sir, to those—and I hope there are none here even in this audience of business men—to those whose sole object in life is to make money, I say, "Don't entertain a thought of profit sharing if your only object in business is to make money. I don't recommend you to undertake it, because you are not the kind of man that will make it answer." (Applause.) But, to the large number of employers who, while in business to make money for themselves, are anxious at the same time to do the very best for their workers, and I believe the vast majority of business men are so anxious, I strongly recommend the principle of profit sharing as at once scientific and safe. By profit sharing I mean that over and above current rates of salaries and wages a share of the year's profits in some form or other be given to the workers who have helped to make them.

I am not here to advocate any particular mode of profit sharing, though my own was adopted after a life-long study of the best models, chiefly French. I may say it is standing so far the test of experience. And when I speak of profit sharing I mean chiefly the spirit of profit sharing, which is much more important than any particular form. The profit sharing spirit exists in many private concerns already to-day, I am quite

sure, where it is absent in form, and if the form of profit sharing does exist anywhere without the spirit, then, I say, it is a pestiferous corpse. Like every other reform, profit sharing requires the practical idealist. It is not a question so much for a sentimentalist as for a man of affairs. It is in that capacity, gentlemen, that I appear before you to-day. I will not deny that in my case, as in the case of all true profit-sharers, the motive was largely altruistic, but I believe I have not lost money by it, and in the matter of comfort and happiness, happiness I mean in my business, I have gained immensely—(applause)—and, after all, what do we earn money for only as a means towards happiness? My relations with my work people were good before, but they are better still now. They take more pride in their work than in the prosperity of their company. The best work people stick to us, and with it increases the stability of the company's personnel, and therefore the stability of the company's prosperity. Some of our workers, against my advice, sell their shares, but what one worker sells another buys, and it is nearly always a better workman that buys than the one that sells. (Applause.)

One of the great lessons, however, that nearly all non-capitalists need to learn, and some agitators—I am an agitator, so I suppose there is no offence in saying that—one of the lessons needed is this lesson that in order to have you must save. Saving is the foundation of all capital, but some people need to learn that lesson, and the profit sharing system is teaching the people that much needed lesson. As to the results upon my own employees, I may divide them into three classes. First there is the class who are doing their work now and always did it. There is not a decent business employer anywhere that would not be glad to give these people a little more if we could only find them out. Then, there is the other extreme, the people that will not do their duty, however well they are treated, whom kind treatment seems to make worse. There is only one remedy for them; find them out and get rid of them as soon as you can. And this system helps to get rid of them, because one don't want to be burdened with the bad ones, and there becomes a public opinion in favor of good workmen instead of against them. (Applause.) Then, we come to the third and greatest class, certainly I suppose in my employ and everywhere, the class of people who are neither very good or very bad, but who are amenable to influence. To these I am glad to say that slowly and surely they are learning the lesson that profit sharing teaches them. From year to year they are more thrifty, more conscientious, more intelligently interested in the welfare of the business. And as their personal share of the capital in the concern grows their sense of responsibility increases and in course of time I trust it may be—nay, sir, I believe it is now—impossible that anybody could drive a wedge between our workers and their work. (Applause.)

It was Mr. Carnegie, I think, that said before the Institute of Mechanical Engineers in Britain about two years ago that "No man can

secure the best of a man's brains or hands which has not his heart." And I believe that, sir. (Applause.) I hold that no man ever does, and I believe that no man can do, his best for an employer he hates or even that he does not like. (Applause.) And I am happy to know that as a band of fellow-workers we are bound together by ties of the kindest feeling and mutual confidence, which kindness and confidence are the result of working for each other. For, mark you, the employer must work for his men as well as expect men to work for him. After all, the note of profit sharing is almost brotherhood; only in that spirit can it succeed. Profit sharing is no panacea. It will not make bad people good, nor will it make a rough business into a good one, but it will make decent folks better, and it does make a good business a better one. (Applause.) I take it that the principal requisites for a successful business and character and capacity in its management. No scheme of any kind can make up for the lack of these. But, granted the ordinary conditions of success, granted an honest purpose in starting a profit sharing scheme, I know of nothing which so richly repays a decent employer as the principle I am advocating now. Not only to myself, but to all my colleagues in the management of our business, our scheme adds a zest and a pleasure to our business, to the daily round, the common task which one who has not experienced it can hardly believe. We are as keen as other men to succeed, nay, I hope we are keener because we feel that we are not only working for ourselves, but we are working for our comrades and followers, and instead of being sullen hirelings behind, these fellows are our trusted, trustful and loyal friends. I feel that in standing up before an audience of business men I am apt to be misunderstood. But I assure you I am as keen after the bawbees as any man here. (Applause.) It may seem overdrawn, but at the risk of being misunderstood I must say that the profit sharing spirit dignifies and glorifies a business man's life. (Hear, hear.)

No employer of labor need seek political or military honors for the satisfaction of his own ambition to serve his day and generation. With Dr. Flint of Edinburgh, I hold "that the captains of industry can do more for the elevation of the working classes than all the politicians put together." (Applause.) And I often think that if our middle classes and upper classes of young men—you will excuse my importing those old terms here, where they seem out of place—I mean men who have education and wealth and influence on their own side. If the young men of those classes who are so nobly ready to fight for the Empire in South Africa and elsewhere, if they once realized the great work they could do with and for the industrial classes at home, we should soon see developed a new and even a higher form of patriotism than ever before. Surely if it is great to die for one's country abroad, it is no less great to live for one's fellowmen at home. (Loud applause.) I fear that we do not always realize the openings lying around us to true greatness in the service of our fellow-

men. Does not the young man of wealth and intelligence who gives his services to the management of municipal affairs, and who tries, say, to keep Toronto from going down the path that has led Philadelphia to infamy, does not such an one render to his fellowmen as great a service as the man who follows a military career? In the industrial world, as elsewhere, "noblesse oblige." It is not, gentlemen, to the rank and file that we must look for industrial reform. Trades unions, employers' associations are all very well in their place, but they are fighting forces, and all war is costly, and costly industrially in what is even more valuable than money. It is a truism that capital and labor are twin engines, and only by their working together can progress be made. I profoundly believe that if capital and labor could be all the world over harmoniously reconciled and working together the hours of work would be shortened, wages could be raised and capitalists no worse, but better off. Be that as it may, however, no one will deny, I suppose, that in every country where industry is organized there is room for improvement.

Why, sir, Canada herself is taking part in this grand reform. I went across, I won't say the trackless, because there is a track across the prairie—I went across what was up to a few years ago the trackless prairies to British Columbia. I called upon the manager of the "British Columbia Electric Railways." What did I find? A splendid system of profit sharing. The manager told me to go to the men and talk with them. I talked with them, six or eight men, and it is all summed up in what one fellow said to me. He said, "This is the grandest company to work for on this continent." (Applause.) Why? Because there is a human feeling on the part of the management for the men and this human feeling is turning out decent dividends.

Well, depend upon it that is the spirit to evoke in your employees if you can, and profit sharing in the true profit sharing spirit, is the best way to do it. Do not expect wonders in no time. It is a great reform that has got to come, and we have to be patient. It is a worthy work in which to engage. There may be, probably there will be, money reward, but if not there should be no money loss. On the other hand, of a moral kind there is great reward, the reward that one has tried to leave the world a little better than one has found it. (Loud cheers.)

(November 20, 1905.)

Taxation of Corporations.

BY PROFESSOR ADAM SHORTT.

I generally find that I have to speak before the Canadian Club on some subject which is more distinguished for its range than for its definiteness, and yet in taking the subject of "The Taxation of Corporations" I feel that while I have not escaped a subject of great range, there may be more definiteness in it than some of the other points that I have already discussed before you. Political science is called by Carlyle a dismal science, and I think it is generally admitted that there is no part so dismal as the part dealing with taxation, so that the first application with taxation which I have to make to-night is to put a tax upon your patience while I try to explain some of the principles which are connected with the taxation of corporations.

First of all, a word will be necessary with reference to corporations. These institutions, which have grown up within the nineteenth century particularly and which are entering upon the twentieth century with the apparent desire to conquer it absolutely, are coming to be regarded in many quarters by the public as most alarmingly terrible things. There is a tendency to look at corporations as of a piece with every other enormity or difficulty that comes to the surface. There is a growing tendency to think that the corporation is something to be kept down if possible, and one really wonders what these parties would do with it in the end. Now, I wish to steer a middle course. The attitude, or rather the point of view from which I approach such subjects is that of the historical development. I personally can never understand what a thing means until I have asked myself and others where it began, how it grew up, why it grew up, and what it means to-day, and on the basis of that where it is likely to go in the immediate future. From that point of view I have become thoroughly convinced of these points—that the corporations have come upon us in a normal and natural and inevitable manner, that we cannot get rid of the corporations without a virtual destruction of our modern form of society. We may, it is true, pass them into something better and higher, but we should do so only over and through these corporations, not by turning back from the road along which we have travelled so far, but by going on further in that direction. I have no special idea and am no special advocate of any succeeding system to that of the corporations. What I do feel, however, is that the day of the corporation is not over, that it is indeed only beginning, and that we have to face this phase of modern society in a frank, fair spirit, that above all we want to rid our minds of cant and hypocrisy in dealing with it. When I sometimes find people with a blind feeling that these things must be

turned down I say to myself: These people have a consciousness of the defects and the dangers, but they do not seem to have a consciousness of the value of these things.

What are the causes, in a few words, of the existence of corporations? The chief causes are that the conditions of our economic life, the conditions of providing us with the means of life, with the service of life—because these are the two great lines—have become so complex and have required such an immense outlay, such a great preparation, and such a wonderful combination of individuals to carry them out, that it is truly impossible to have our modern economical life carried any further or any longer upon the lines that used to determine it by free competition and the opportunity of any individual to go into any business and any trade he pleased. That is, it was simple enough for a man to take up his hand loom or his shoe bench and go to work to manufacture cloth or to make shoes and to leave them when times became hard, and turn to his plot of ground and eke out his living in that way. At that time there was no great danger of overdoing the business. Nowadays, in order to get into business you have to begin a great organization of capital and you have to make an abnormal demand for the goods that you have to produce, for when you start a two or three million dollar factory for the manufacture of shoes you have to increase the demand rather than supply the demand. If that demand is present dozens of factories may be started to supply that demand and you will not know for two or three or even ten years whether that demand is being more than supplied, and then it will be too late to back out, because it will mean the sacrifice of millions. It inevitably results in a life and death struggle. It is not the kind of competition that for instance Adam Smith suspected or that anybody else has dealt with from his time down. A principle of competition exists side by side with these corporations and it will always be so. It is not a fight between corporation versus competition, but a question of certain services and certain lines of production having to be looked at in advance and carefully regulated in advance, and it is therefore large combination plus regulation which is to give us the outlet for the future. I might go into that in much detail, but I feel that before a select audience of the Canadian Club not only will you be able to supplement what I may not bring out, but you will be able to correct any errors into which I fall, and therefore I talk more freely.

Another situation crops up. The possibility of great economy, of great power, the opportunity to make large dividends, to conduct great organizations, presents an outlet for the man in economic life which he was never able to secure in that line before. In other words, it is an immense attraction for the man with spiritual ambition. I use those words consciously and definitely. The man who goes in to develop a great business has really more to do often and a better and more spiritual line to work out than our statesmen have, because the statesman is more and more hampered in these days when compared with his predecessor. The

business man is more and more in command of the great forces that used to be at the command of generals and statesmen and men of that sort in the earlier days. That is why in the great economic countries like the United States, and Britain and Canada the big men are going into business rather than into politics. I say that in a general way, of course, because there are exceptions—personal peculiarities and personal interests may of course determine certain individuals one way or another.

The next point that I want to make is that these opportunities are such and the complexity of the business is such that it gets beyond the understanding of the ordinary man. Nobody can follow these workings unless he be more or less of an expert in the line—that is, special knowledge, and very detailed special knowledge, is required to understand any of the great industries or services of modern times. That being so, men who are busy with their own affairs have not the opportunity to look into these things. So it comes about that when applications are made for capital, with promises given for great schemes and so on, we have to take them at their words, or at any rate, as is usually discovered, on the basis of the names connected with them. Hence the dishonest promoter desires first of all to get a few prominent names connected with his scheme, and then to present the matter in such a way that it will catch the superficial attention, the eye of the public, and promise great interest, and so on. Thus you have in the experience of the world, growing up side by side, real genuine services and corporations and also more or less bogus concerns, because the great corporation, as I have said, cannot tell for some years whether it is a success or not. The rival corporation will have the same opportunity, therefore, but by the time it comes to be decided the parties who floated it, who sold the shares and the bonds and so on, may be miles away, so far as economically their interest is concerned. Hence, to-day great combines are formed, great corporations are formed for no other object than to sell the securities, for in that way there is an immediate and great profit instead of waiting for years for returns.

When you come to deal with this question from the point of view of taxation or Government regulation and so on, what are we to do? It is quite obvious that the man who is going to tax them or regulate them has got to be an expert also, and hence it is that we are entering on the day of commissions. The commission has justified itself up to the hilt in the United States; it has proved itself the only possible way of dealing with these great corporations. Governments and Legislatures made up of men who have their own business to attend to may be able to formulate in a general way what they wish the community to realize, but they cannot determine the details. A Parliament has, it seems to me, as its main function the determining of what organizations should be limited, regulated and so on, but should hand over the details of the regulation and limitation to special commissions. Moreover, the hands of these commissions must not be tied too completely or their work will be frustrated.

If the heads of the corporations, the experts who are running them, are men of experience in the lines, they require a free hand and get a free hand and keep a free hand in the administration of them, the parties who are regulating them, to fix rates on railroads, to determine what is a decent investment in insurance, have got to have a free hand more or less also. They have got to be able to work their system flexibly and not too rigidly, otherwise they cannot follow the conditions. They have got to be appointed as experts or as men who can be taken in on the same footing as a corporation will take in a man who has got the stuff in him to teach him the business, for it is not always possible to get men into your commissions that have all the knowledge at the outset, but you can get men who have the capacity and ability to learn it.

As Governments come and go, commissions must be permanent, and the experience of Britain and the United States and concurrently the experience of other countries goes to prove that the future is with the corporations, and that the future requires that these corporations shall be controlled. We should have in this country a body of experts to pass upon the plans and promises that are brought forward by corporations, not necessarily to say that they are bound to succeed, because that cannot be told, but to see that the plans and proposals set forth are reasonable and that the public are being told the facts and are not being presented with a mere bogus, or one-sided, or distorted view of the situation. In that way the public should be guarded in the investment of its money, and after that to see that they live up to the lines of the prospectus. We are apt to say that corporations do not want to obey the laws, they do not want good government, and so on. That is not true; I am quite convinced that it is not true, after talking with a great many people connected with corporations. But they do say that if the members of the Legislatures, who are the court of last appeal, are ingorant, the man with a bogus concern is apt to get the best of them, the unscrupulous man is apt to get the best of it, and the better corporations have got to come down to something like their level to live—they are systematically blackmailed and they have to decide between paying blackmail and finding themselves out of business. It is in the interest of the public on the one hand and of the honest men among the corporations that these regulations are required, and I am quite convinced that if we had adequate regulation both in taxation and otherwise we should find the better corporations fall into line quite reasonably.

That brings me to the point of the taxing of corporations. What I have said I consider necessary because if the corporations are permanent then our way of looking at them must be permanent. If they are serving a real purpose and enacting a real development, then our system of taxing them must be real and permanent, not merely from the point of view of to-morrow, but from the point of view of decades and even half centuries or centuries ahead. In travelling about in the United States last summer

working up the question of their method of dealing with railroad and other corporations, I discovered that only two States have anything like the same system. Some of them look alike, but in detail they vary. There was in a State where a new system had just recently been introduced, and some of these are less sanguine now than when I saw them. When we explained to them our position in Canada, that we had not the necessity of working up our corporations along with our municipal questions, that we had a free hand, indeed, provincially, because the Province does not require to tax directly the municipalities—the individuals, that is, in the municipalities to raise revenue, they one and all said as soon as they grasped the situation, “Why, that is a perfectly ideal condition; if we were only back at that stage how easy it would be for us to develop our system along right lines.” As they put it, and it never struck me in that way before, “We cannot change once we have built up our system of taxation; we have a certain amount of revenue to obtain and you can see how it would revolutionize things and make it practically impossible to frame a budget for the next few years if we were to change radically our system of taxation.”

One of the chief difficulties in the States has arisen from the fact that the State has to collect taxes from the individual. You have so many municipalities in Ontario. If the Provincial Government is required to raise more revenue than it can get from the Dominion subsidy on the one hand and on the other from selling of timber limits, mining lands and so on, and has to be forced back on direct taxation of the individual, there would have to be built up a costly and enormous machinery of assessment, paralleling the whole machinery in force in the Province to-day. The Province would have to say to each municipality, “We will take your assessment and we will try to adjust it in such a way that we can levy on it.” Now, municipality A says—“If we can cut down the assessment in our municipality below that of the adjoining municipality they will have to pay more to the State than we have. That was the situation in the United States, and what did it result in? Take one illustration. In the State of Illinois in 1873 the total assessment of the State amounted to \$1,210,000,000, and every year after that it went down until in 1898 the total assessment of the State, with nearly thirty years of development, and including the city of Chicago and other great centres—the total assessment was only \$693,000,000. That can be paralleled all over the Western States—Dakota, Minnesota, Indiana and so on.

I have dwelt upon this because it is at the core of the very question in Ontario. Here we have not had occasion so far to levy one cent directly, and the question is how are we to keep out of that, because the difficulty of doing so is enormous. The States of the Union see a way out and they are moving towards getting a different basis of taxation for the State from the basis of taxation for the municipality, and thus simplify the situation and get themselves on to a new basis. One State has practically succeeded, New Jersey, and another has very nearly succeeded, the

State of New York. New Jersey, as you know, is the home of trusts, and New Jersey has been able to raise its whole State revenue by charging a less rate per million of capital for incorporating companies than any other State in the Union. The result has been that the corporations flocked into that State for incorporation. Just as you find in the lowering of the postage the number of letters soon rising, so that the ultimate revenue is double what it was before, so in New Jersey their revenue went forward by leaps and bounds until now they do not require to tax the individual property owners throughout the State. Out of the railroad and other corporation taxes they are able to run the State. New York State is just beginning to get in sight of where we are in the matter of freedom from local taxation.

It does not so much matter—though I have very strong views on the system and basis of taxation—it does not matter so much what system or basis you use so long as you can avoid confusing the provincial revenue with the municipal revenue. We find ourselves in Canada with an ideal system. Our national revenue does not conflict with our provincial revenue, because it is raised by the Customs and a few other things; the provincial from the subsidy from the Dominion Government and by the sale of timber limits and mining lands and some taxes. There is nothing against having the Province subsidized from a part of that taxation from the Dominion, and nothing against the municipalities being subsidized from the Province except as is found in the State of Massachusetts. There the State Government undertakes to raise most of the revenue for the municipalities. The members elected by the municipalities are sent to the State Legislature mainly with the idea, familiar enough to us in other ways, of getting something more for their own constituency. That is their chief recommendation in getting elected and re-elected, so that the people of Massachusetts are praying to be delivered from the State Legislature. The members are so much engaged in seeing that their own particular municipalities get enough they neglect to see that the State itself gets enough—what is everybody's business is nobody's business, and the municipality's business is each individual's business. Hence there is a difficulty there; but here in Ontario, where the Provincial Government subsidizes schools, hospitals and institutions of that sort, we have not got particularly into a dangerous position. I have placed most stress upon this point, because to my mind it is most important that in Ontario we should not adopt a line that would run us into the difficulties which the United States have had, and that they have spent no end of time and thousands and thousands of dollars in trying to get out of.

As to the possibility of that, here comes in the point of the inevitable development of corporations. We find a greater and greater proportion every year of the total wealth of every State and Canadian province represented in the shape of corporations. The great increase of wealth and in many cases the transfer of wealth is from private owner-

ship to corporate ownership. The importance of regulating and taxing these corporations will therefore be readily seen, because as we have to get our revenue out of the wealth of the country it is quite obvious that more and more of that revenue must come from corporations and less and less from private ownership. If the Province can adjust its system of taxation to take its revenue out of the corporations and apart from any municipal machinery, they will have quite enough to carry them in the future, and, indeed, often possibly have more than enough. At the same time, it may be necessary to allow, if you can adopt an adequate system, the municipalities to take their revenue out of the same corporations to a certain extent. Here in Toronto you have to take care of your streets, provide water, light and police and fire protection and all that sort of thing for the benefit of the corporations as well as for the benefit of private individuals. Obviously, then, the corporations are as much interested in these matters as any of the private individuals and should pay for them on the same basis as private individuals. But while the whole business of a private individual, say a storekeeper on Yonge street, may be centered in Toronto, that of the Simpson and Eaton Companies have come to be of Provincial interest. Their revenue is not derived entirely from Toronto as the income of the ordinary retail shop-keeper is; it is derived from the whole of Canada. So with the railway companies, so with the banks, the trust companies, the insurance companies, though their head offices may be here, they are not city institutions; they are provincial institutions, indeed some of them are world institutions. These companies should be made to pay taxes for the services they obtain in Toronto and that would be on the basis of their buildings but not on the basis of their income, which might be enormously beyond the valuation of their buildings. And so you can draw the line on what you can tax them locally and the line on which the Province can tax the same interests. If, for instance, an insurance company is able to conduct a very large business in a very small building, then its interest is chiefly over the Province, but Toronto has to contribute to the Province as well as any place outside of it. That line of distinction will apply to practically all corporations.

You ask on what basis then can the Province come in. I have not time to go into all the rival systems, but I can say this—and I recommend you to look up the authorities for it—if there is one thing on which practically all experts are agreed it is that the old miscellaneous general property tax is not applicable to corporations. Michigan has made a great effort to re-establish that system for its railroads, and it is most interesting to show how they have illustrated the absolute futility of the system. They spent \$60,000 in getting an assessment of the railroad property of the State and when they got it it was not worth a row of beans. In some cases the corporations in the State are earning a great deal, and in others not very much. Prof. Adams, in order to try and get over this, prepared what he called a franchise valuation, what they are able to pay above what

their physical assessment would seem to indicate that they can pay. When you ask how the actual basis of taxation is made up, they say, "We will take all things into consideration," which means it is a general guess on their part, because the railroads themselves cannot tell what they are worth. There is no market for railways, no basis by which you can bring them to the ordinary test of a bag of oats. You have to look at their revenue, their earnings; and so they try to recapitalize the earning capacity and try to get at it that way, but it results in their frankly saying when the company objects and asks how the assessment is made up: "We are not going to tell you how we make it up; that is your assessment." When that involves one hundred million dollars a guess of eight or ten millions on one side or the other would be easy, and the opportunity to influence a man's guess is very great. (Laughter.)

You see, therefore, you have no security. It is not fair to the assessors, it is not fair to the railways, that such a system should go on. Other States make the assessment on the quotations of stock and bonds of the railroad companies. But the stock and bonds are for the whole system and the system may have only a small fraction in this State or that State. To say in regard to some of the Chicago roads that run in the northern peninsula for two or three months in the year to carry out timber and minerals, "Your system is bonded for so much, we will tax that portion of the mileage in Michigan in proportion to the mileage in the other States," is ridiculous absolutely, because a mile on the line between say Chicago and St. Paul is worth one hundred times more than a mile in the northern peninsula of Michigan, and merely to do it on the mileage business is absolutely absurd and crude. And even if you have the railroad entirely in your State you cannot figure out on the basis of what the stock is selling for, what it is worth, as you all know. (Laughter.) The greater part of the stock in many of these railroads is not used for revenue at all but simply for the purpose of getting control, and it will be worth a thousand dollars a share one day and fifty cents the next, according as you are getting or have just got control. These points knock any stock quotations out of line altogether. Then as regards bonds, they are more definite, but they come and go with the manipulation of the road, and it may be convenient if you are working on that basis to freeze out a bondholder or get receiverships appointed for any purpose, whether from within and without, or between within or without, or by a conspiracy on any road to sell a particular road or branch of a road. All these extraneous conditions can destroy the quotation of stock and bonds as a basis of the valuation of a railroad.

There are other schemes, but what they are all struggling for under whatever name is to ascertain what the road can earn, what the company can earn, what the bank or the telephone company is making. You find as you pass from one organization to another that some companies, like railroads, require an immense amount of physical property, and other

companies, like telephone and telegraph companies, require less, and that other companies, like the express companies, require practically nothing, because they use the property of the railroads. So it comes down to in almost every case that what the road is worth is what its revenue will produce, and a capitalization of that will in the long run give the real value of the stock and bonds, and the system and everything else, and if it is not worth anything it is sold for old iron or to the next combination using it.

Can we find out what they earn? There comes the great difference between corporations and private property. It is the hardest thing, as you all know, for an assessor to tell what a man is earning unless he is a college professor or some Government official, and even they are exempt. If you have got a man whose salary must appear in some public account the assessor has an easy thing, although they may be making something above that, but a lawyer, a doctor, and a person who is in the marrying business or anything of that sort, these people can have an income which nobody can get at. Many a lawyer does not keep books—(laughter)—and many a doctor does not figure his income out minutely, and he can honestly go before the assessor and say he does not know what his income is, because he does not want to know—(laughter)—and he can escape, therefore. Now a great many people have to know what their income is. A corporation, from the very nature of it, has to keep books, otherwise it could not get on at all, and the accounts have got to be kept pretty strictly, and the great scientific development of bookkeeping is of course in connection with corporations. The bigger they are the more absolutely you can follow it. Consequently, as expert after expert in the United States tell us—"Put the tax on gross earnings and we will defy any corporation to doctor the thing." You can doctor anything else, but you cannot doctor their simple gross earnings. Net earnings you can doctor. I am free to admit that net revenue in many corporations is by long odds the best test. There is no doubt about that, but there is this other point to be kept in mind, we have got to be comparatively fair as between a private individual and a corporation. Now, no private individual escapes taxation by going to the City Council and proving that he has not made money during the last year. The Council says, "You have so much property, it might have sold for so much, whether you made money out of it or not." So it should be with the corporation. A corporation that may be able to prove that it did not make any money, that it did not have any net revenue, cannot be allowed to get off with that, for if you put your tax on net revenue a great many corporations will have no revenue, and some of those who now have revenue will soon have none at all. There are a great many ways of manipulating that.

I know of a company where a few individuals got command of the stock. They were the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and so on. They voted themselves all into official positions and then they pro-

ceeded to raise their salaries from something like a thousand to eight and nine thousand, and the head from seven to fifteen thousand, and the result was that after raising revenue for themselves there was no net revenue for the company. Companies have various ways, too, of merely setting aside surpluses to build up their capital, of setting aside part of their earnings to extend their business and take their revenue in the shape of accruing value in their stock, and when that gets to a sufficient amount sell the stock. So that you see a tax on net revenue won't do unless you adopt a very elaborate system of inquisitorial investigation to determine when the net revenue is legitimate and when it is not. Hence we are driven back to gross revenue, and then the question comes as to whether that will be relatively fair as between corporations. We can determine upon fairly well a rate that will apply to specific corporations. You can strike a certain rate for railways, another for banks, another for telegraph and telephone companies, and so on, but you cannot strike a rate and proportion that will apply to both railways and banks. Here's where the work of a taxation commission comes in, for while you do not necessarily strike the same rate for these different companies, you do strike the same basis of taxation on gross revenue for the banks as such, for railway companies as such. I have done some figuring on our own lines which I have compared with some details in the United States. We got information with reference to the Grand Trunk and the C.P.R. and the Canadian Northern, and the Canada Southern and other Canadian roads whose lines run in the United States from the officers of the Interstate Railway Commission down in Washington, and from the commissions of several of these States through which the roads run, that you could not find anywhere in Canada, simply because they are required under the laws of those States to furnish not only the details for their own State, but details for the whole system. If we were to introduce the system of taxation of gross revenue we would not be introducing anything that was new for any of our big railroads, because they are used to all that, already they hand in these returns year after year to several States, such as Minnesota and Michigan, into and out of which they run. Thus, with reference to the possibility of applying it to our corporations, it is really simple with reference to railways.

The constitutional question, however, comes in here. It is a big one in the United States—how far taxation can be taken on certain lines without running foul of the interstate commerce law. To a certain extent we ought to be if we are not face to face with it in Canada, although our constitution is simpler in this respect. Direct taxation is admissible for both the Dominion and the Province—the Dominion can raise revenue by any system of taxation, the Province by direct taxation only. How far can a Province like Ontario tax a system like the C.P.R. without it being ruled out of court on the ground that it is interfering with the commerce of Canada as a whole and being declared to be *ultra vires*? The odd fact

in the United States is that the least interference with interstate commerce is ruled out and the most absurd interference justified. All the recent development of taxation in the United States, on railways in particular, because they are interstate affairs par excellence, has been on the basis of gross revenue, and while the ordinary tax for State purposes may be on the basis of a general property tax, or a stock and bond tax, or franchise tax, nearly all the recent ones are on the gross or earnings tax, so that they have managed to settle the constitutional question there. But the point is, to avoid difficulties, we should have to face that constitutional difficulty. It would not be fair for one Province to take the whole of the C.P.R. system and say, "We shall take that proportion as a basis of assessment which corresponds to our mileage of the system." If for instance in the case of the Grand Trunk Pacific or some other line that might be taxed running through the wilderness and carrying produce from the North-West to the seaboard and doing very little in the Province, it were to be taxed on that basis, it would mean that Ontario and Quebec would be taking a tax out of what was really North-West traffic and not its own, and that would be just as bad to a certain extent at any rate, as the system I mentioned of taxing the total assessment of the road simply on the mileage that it ran into the northern peninsula of Michigan. That would not be fair, and the main point must be—What is fair between the Provinces? It would not be wise either for Ontario, because Ontario would be liable to suffer more than most of the Provinces in that respect.

Now, obviously, the best system would be for the central Government at Ottawa to undertake the mechanical adjustment and determination of the basis of taxation and the revenue, gross, net, or any other basis, to the separate Provinces, but not itself do the taxing. That is it could pass a general law with reference to this and say, "This is the portion for one Province and that for the other." Because if left to the Provinces Quebec might adopt one system and Ontario another, which might result in either double taxation or insufficient taxation. I believe that Ontario has the privilege of setting an example to the others which will be followed, and the rational basis would be to take the legitimate proportion of the actual business done in Ontario. That system is already at work in Minnesota, and there works most admirably. It works in this way quite simply: Every railroad company must know in its books the earnings for every shipment. If a shipment of a carload or less starts from Toronto and goes to Winnipeg they put that down in their books. If it is to be classified afterwards for taxation purposes it is merely clerical work. If the greater part of the mileage is in Ontario, obviously the greater part of the tax should go to Ontario; if the greater part of it is in some other Province, the greater part of the tax should go to them. But it would not do to take the total earnings of the road and divide them on a mileage basis, because the greater part of them might have nothing to do with this Province. In the way I suggest you have a basis

that will satisfy the constitutional question—there would be no violation of the interprovincial rights, because in dividing it on that basis you could not possibly overlap into other provinces.

Notwithstanding, I think the best system, if it could be carried out, would be for the Dominion Government to regulate them all and even collect the revenue and distribute it as it does with the Customs tax, and then there would be no possible jockeying by one Province against another as there is unfortunately in the United States, one State working against another.

I have been using these illustrations in regard to railways because I am more familiar with the details of them, but *pari passu* adjusting your system to the other lines, banks and other corporations, the normal basis of taxation is revenue, and the simplest and easiest method of getting at it is gross revenue. You have to take simply an average between years and find out what is the normal proportion in well managed companies for a period of years between operating expenses and gross revenue, and if you get a normal basis there it does not matter whether you tax the net revenue or levy it on the gross revenue.

Now, there is just one final point, and that is, as to the coming and going of revenue. One of the chief arguments in Michigan and Wisconsin was this—the State requires practically the same amount of revenue each year, good year and bad year, and if the railroads are taxed on their earnings when the bad year comes their taxes come down, but the revenue required by the State is the same, and the difference has to be made up by the common people. There is, of course, something in that, but it is really a problem of adjustment when you come to look at it, because the valuation of city property and income of other sorts vary in the same way, therefore it is not so new. Expert financing, normal financing, provides for good years and bad years and if Governments do not do that it is bad financing. In Ontario, as I have said, we are in the position of receiving practically all our revenue from two sources, the Dominion subsidy and the Crown Lands, and that is an elastic revenue, and there is a basis to cover the difference without coming any more hardly on the individual. Moreover, as we have got that ideal position in which we do not tax anybody directly in Ontario, we are free from that objection as regards the individual in the municipalities. So that on all grounds we are in an ideal position in Ontario to adopt a good system, and unless we look forward to a considerable time we are in danger of finding ourselves tied up to something that is utterly inadequate, and finding that the only way to get out of it is to commit suicide. A man may tie up his hand and foot, but if he has got a jag in the heart and something torn in his lungs, he cannot exist—to stop breathing means to die—and a revenue that has to be received year in and year out cannot undertake to adjust itself to a totally new system all at once. What I want to impress upon you, there—

fore, is the necessity for our getting started on right lines with reference to the future development of the country and the future development of capital. (Applause.)

(November 27, 1905.)

Why the Japanese Fight as they do.

By W. RICHMOND SMITH.

Mr. President, Gentlemen, Members of the Canadian Club,—I can assure you that it affords me great pleasure to be here to-day to give you a short talk upon the Japanese conception of military duty and service. I do not know any organization in the world before which I would have greater pleasure in speaking than the Canadian Club of Toronto.

The world knows to-day how the Japanese fight. In so far as the newspaper accounts of what has taken place in Manchuria during the last two years have given the facts, those facts read more like romance than like the record of what has actually taken place during the war between Russia and Japan. The Japanese accomplished so much more than reasonable authorities on military matters would have admitted was possible before the war commenced, that the world has become convinced that back of their organization and strength as a military power there is some very strong reason for what they have done, an incentive which does not exist in any other army in the world. When I was asked to speak before your organization it occurred to me that this was the most interesting phase of the subject on which I could speak. I will try, therefore, to lift at least a corner of the veil upon the question, "Why the Japanese fight as they do." It is a difficult problem to explain, but, as I have said, I will do my best to lift the veil as far as I can.

As far back in the mythology of old Japan as the records go, the Japanese have always had a fighting element in the nation, though they were not, in the days of old Japan, essentially a fighting nation at all. That conception is distinctly a mistake. There was a fighting class, called the Samurai who were the retainers of the feudal lords of Japan. They were only a small percentage of the population. The great masses of the people were engaged in pacific pursuits, and never fought at all because the duty of fighting devolved upon the army of Samurai. This class of hereditary warriors was, in the best sense of the word, an exclusive corporation of fighting men. The rest of the people in the country devoted themselves to agriculture, fishing, and the various arts and manufactures for which Japan to-day is famed throughout the world.

Naturally in an aggregation of fighting men such as these Samurai were, the standard which existed among them was exceedingly high. It is said that death rather than defeat or surrender was the religion of the

class. It came to be known throughout Japan and the world that the soul of a Samurai was with his sword, for they fought with swords and were clad in armor in the former days.

Japan became known to the Western world when Commodore Perry went with a few warships into Yokohama harbor and demanded that the country which had been closed for centuries to the world should be opened for trade with the United States. This demand came at the psychological moment and was successful. For centuries the power of ruling in the country had been usurped by the most powerful of the feudal lords. These rulers never attempted, at any time, to usurp the functions of the Emperor, though they ruled absolutely in his name. They always acted nominally, at least, under his authority. Centuries of rule by these Shoguns resulted in an effeminacy which robbed them of the primitive power which gave them the right to rule. When Perry made his demands the last of the ruling house of Shogun, who was an extremely weak personality, was in power. Perry's demands hastened, not only the downfall of the Shoguns' rule, but the end of the feudal system which had held the country in its grip for centuries. The war of the restoration in 1868 restored the Emperor of Japan to absolute power, and the Shoguns voluntarily relinquished the right and power to rule. From the date of the restoration of the present Emperor of Japan to absolute power, dates the beginning of the present military and governmental systems of Japan.

I would like to tell you a short story in connection with Perry's expedition which will show you what has been done in Japan well within the span of one man's life. It was told by one of the elder statesmen at a dinner party at Tokio, the Marquis Yamagata. Hearing of the foreign ships which discharged thunder from their sides being in Yokohama harbor, he went to the shore, put his sword between his teeth, and swam out to Perry's flagship, and with his sword tried to pierce the iron hull. That man to-day is revered as the father of the Japanese navy, and he is the head of the administration of the fleet which defeated the ships of Russia in far Eastern waters during the recent war. (Prolonged applause.)

With regard to the army, the story is even more interesting. When Perry's demands that the country be opened to the world were made they were granted because the country was not able to refuse the demand. The feudal system had in the meantime disappeared. The Samurai had no leadership and therefore most of them no longer had any profession. The need of a national army, larger and more powerful than the Samurai had ever been, came with great force to the whole nation. They saw in the "open door" which Perry's demand necessitated danger to the country they loved so well. The man who was responsible for the idea out of which came the present national army of Japan, was a Samurai, General Saigo. He had fought well in the War of the restoration on the

side of the Emperor, had quelled rebellion in the north, and in fact had succeeded largely through his own efforts in restoring the Emperor to power. He became a member of the Privy Council, and it was he who evolved the idea of a conscript army large enough to meet the requirements of national aspirations and development. Young men, the best the land produced, were sent abroad to study the armies throughout the world, and to report thereon with the idea of creating an army system. Five years later the new conscript army was tested in a manner which brought out the effect of the system in its initiative stage. The great Saigo, the man who had created the national army, was the man who led the Samurai forces against it. The trouble arose over a dispute in the Emperor's Council over an insult offered by the Emperor of Corea to the ships of the Emperor of Japan. Saigo favored a punitive expedition, the others a diplomatic settlement. Saigo resigned his position in the Emperor's Council and went back to his Province of Satsuma, where most of the Samurai, who regarded the conscript army as an insult to themselves, gathered about him as well as other malcontents, and this military force rose in rebellion, not against the Emperor, but against his advisers. At first scores of defeats were inflicted on the conscript army. They were beaten because they felt they must be defeated, so high in the estimation of the common people stood these Samurai warriors, that no dozen of them would face a single Samurai, and it is told of the Samurai forces in this rebellion that they often faced the conscript army twenty to one and put them to flight. Finally the Emperor and his advisers chose a good way to prevent the esprit de corps of the new army being destroyed. They sent to the front the Emperor's bodyguard, composed of picked forces of the Samurai, who had sworn fidelity to the Emperor, and whose duty it was to guard his person with their own lives if need be. The police force of the country, composed of a lower class of Samurai, was also sent to the front. With this infusion defeat was turned into success and the rebellion was turned into victory for the conscript army. That was the inception of the Japanese military system as it exists to-day. (Applause.)

It is a remarkable story because these men of the conscript army had not only never fought before, but their forefathers for generations had been taught not to oppose the trained Samurai; that it was impossible as well as a sacrilege to attempt to do so. Thus the national army of Japan won its spurs against a class of privileged warriors whom they had been taught for all time not to oppose. (Applause.) That was thirty years ago. To-day we have a Japanese army in Manchuria of 500,000 men, composed of an agricultural and sea-faring population all of which have absorbed and taken to themselves the high standard which formerly appertained to a class of hereditary warriors who fought the fights of old Japan. This national army has grafted onto itself the standard which formerly existed among the Samurai, professional soldiers by heredity and training. (Applause.)

There is, however, another and a stronger reason for the way in which the Japanese fight. The position and personality of the Emperor of Japan is the keystone not only of the Japanese conception of military duty and service, but of everything Japanese. Japan has learned much and copied much from the West. One thing which she has not abandoned and never will, is the attitude of her people towards, and the confidence and reverence in which they hold not only the person, but the position, of their Emperor. He is to-day a unique monarch. Not only is he an absolute temporal ruler, but he is the embodiment of his people's conception of God. I choose that language carefully. They do not worship their Emperor as God; no Japanese worships. They pay reverence to the Emperor as the embodiment of their idea of God. I can best explain that, perhaps, by trying to give you an idea of what took place when Buddhism and Confucianism came into Japan from China and India. They were adapted to the dominant idea of the nation that in the Emperor who ruled over their land, they had the highest type possible in humanity of their idea of God.

In the mythology of Japan the first Emperor consolidated the people into one body. He lived a long life, and it was one of absolute self-abnegation for his people. For that he was regarded as the nearest thing in the nation to perfection. He was the embodiment of God because perfection with the Japanese is God. Since the first Emperor there have been many others, some of whom did not fill the position with dignity. The present Council of Elder Statesmen is the result of a process by which the Emperors who came after the first were enabled to fill the public eye as far as personality was concerned. If an Emperor fell short in mental or moral capacity then the ablest men in the land gathered about him and constituted his council. He used their brains. His position, whatever his personality was, was that of the wisest man in the Empire. The Emperor of Japan cannot take part in the ruling of his country personally. He lives a virtual prisoner in Tokio, a prisoner to his duty of absolute self-abnegation in the cause of his people. That will give you some idea why the people regard him as the embodiment of their idea of God. In Buddhism there is no personal God. There are many Buddhas; they are only the embodiment of attributes of God, and when a Buddhist lives so as to acquire perfection in any one particular in the opinion of his fellow man, he is canonized as a Buddha and his example is held up to men.

Shintoism, the other popular religion of Japan, is more a code of ethics than a religion. It first teaches that the Emperor, because of his personality and position, is the highest type of human perfection; that he, therefore, is entitled to reverence, not to worship, and his example is the highest example which his people ought to follow. Therefore he is the central figure of that religion. It also teaches an intense and devoted love of country. The Japanese in their art have nothing to correspond with our "eternal feminine." They find perfection in nature.

Their art will give a study in leaves or flowers that will appeal to the Japanese infinitely more than a study of the beautiful in woman. They look for perfection in something that nature does. The same thing applies to the Shinto religion, which is indigenous to Japan and which comes from no other country. In the things that God gives to the soil of Japan are to be found the most beautiful things in this universe. Shintoism has become best known in the Western world because of its so called "ancestor worship." That is a misnomer. If a man lives, according to Shintoism, so that he does deeds that are the result of self-abnegation, when he dies a monument is erected to his memory, and the people who knew him and among whom he did those deeds, go to the shrine, not to worship, but to catch from the atmosphere which surrounds the shrine, the spirit of the departed soul, an inspiration to do what he did. I saw thousands of conscripts going to the shrine of the Forty Ronans, men who died hundreds of years ago, to catch the inspiration to die as those men did. This is the so-called "ancestor worship," and this is all it means.

You will see in this religion there is an enormous incentive to the soldiers of Japan to die for their country. In the armies you have the Samurai, the man who would kill himself rather than surrender, the man to whom defeat spells death, absolutely. The conscript, under the influences of the religion outlined, with the records of the Samurai to spur him on, with the hope that some day hundreds will come to his shrine to worship, has a mighty incentive. That incentive stands back of the fighting of the Japanese soldier and sailor during the present war and it not only applies to the individual soldier, but in a very strong way it has a potent influence upon the mother of the soldier. The first duty of a Japanese mother of a male infant is to teach that child so to live that he may be able to live a life which will make him willing to die, while her female child she teaches to perform the same duty when she becomes the mother of a male child. The regret of a Japanese mother is not that conscription included her children, but that she had no more children to give. The Japanese mother, though she loves her offspring as much as any other mother, gives them voluntarily to the country. I have seen hundreds of train loads of soldiers leaving Japan. I have seen thousands of mothers, sisters and sweethearts at the stations seeing the soldiers depart, but I never saw one of those women falter or shed a tear, though there was anguish in their eyes it would almost break one's heart to see. I have seen those women carried out of the stations by dozens after the trains had left, when human nature refused to stand the strain any longer, but so long as they stood face to face it was the duty of the mothers to send their children, sisters their brothers, to die without showing their emotions by a tear.

When I arrived in Japan I was extremely anxious to get behind this tremendous incentive which I knew existed. At the Nobles' Club in Tokio one day I met the head of one of the oldest families in Japan. He

had two sons in the army, and the news had arrived that day that one of the sons had been seriously wounded in the battle at the Yalu River. I said to him, "I hope that your son will recover, and that both your sons will live to come home." To my amazement he became very angry. He said to me, "My son has brought disgrace upon his name by being wounded and he is returning to this country before his duty is done. He will be nursed back to health at my house, but he will never show his face in public until he goes back to the field and finishes the work I sent him to do." (Applause.)

In the fighting before Port Arthur a thousand illustrations of the spirit I have been trying to explain were evidenced in a manner that would draw pity from a heart of stone. Many times I saw an army of men composed of conscripts and animated by the spirit I have just tried to explain hurl themselves against one of the strongest fortress positions in the world, only to be thrown back by as stubborn an enemy as ever fought behind walls. I wish to say here that the Russian private soldier, when well led and fighting behind defensive works, is an ideal soldier. (Loud applause.) He fights as long as his officer is with him—(renewed applause.) The story of Port Arthur would have been a different story if the inherent qualities of the Russian private soldier had been used to the utmost by the officers who commanded. If General Kondrachenko, who was the real hero of Port Arthur up to the 13th of November, when he was killed, had lived and had been given complete command, the story of the siege would have been different. The 28,000 able-bodied Russian soldiers who surrendered would have fought to the bitter end, and though the Japanese would have won in the end, it would have been at a cost impossible to estimate.

An incident happened during the fighting at 203 Metre Hill which will give you some conception of the spirit animating the opposing forces. This 203 Metre Hill was an essential point of the Russian lines west of the city. Upon it depended the entire outer line of the defence. It had been transformed into a very strong field work. The hill was high with double peaks. It was belted with trenches in order to shelter garrison reserves when being moved into the front lines upon the hill. The Russians had tunnelled between the peaks to the trenches on the face of the hill so that reinforcements could be sent from rear to front without being exposed to the Japanese fire. The last peak of the hill was taken on the ninth day of the continuous fighting for possession. The last two men who stood on the Russian side were the commander of the position and his aide, a naval officer. These two met the final rush of the Japanese with their swords. The Japanese have a wonderful admiration for courage, and I do not think that a Japanese soldier would fire at a man armed only with a sword. (Applause.) The Japanese soldiers attacked the two Russians with their bayonets, but so well did the Russian officers fight that for

half an hour the unequal combat went on. Finally the aide was killed, but the commander of the position continued the fight alone—(applause)—until a Japanese officer got under his guard and disarmed him. He had killed a dozen men, his sword was dripping with blood, which had soaked his sleeve and stained his tunic. He was wounded in several places, but only very slightly. He was taken to the Japanese army headquarters, and that night I saw him at dinner with General Nogi, his chief of staff and other officers of the Japanese army. (Renewed and prolonged applause.) He was sent to Japan in a special transport wearing the sword and uniform that he had worn on the day of the great fight. When I went back to Japan afterwards I learned that the people of Japan would travel hundreds of miles to see this officer, the one brave Russian they knew. (Laughter and applause.)

I do not want you to think that all the Japanese are brave. They are just as human as you are. (Laughter.) Their performance has been what it was because their standard is so high. It is easier, a million times, for a soldier to die having lived up to that standard than to live and fall below that standard. The standard may be too high, but it takes an army to break it. The Japanese standard is the highest in the world. I do not think there is any higher standard among civilized nations, but there are cases where Japanese soldiers have failed to live up to the standard of their army. The 8th Regiment of Osaka Reserves on one occasion during the siege refused to leave their trenches when ordered to take a position in the face of a heavy fire. The major in command was killed endeavoring to get his men to leave the shelter of their trenches. As soon as the fight was over this regiment was sent behind the lines and was put through a terrible course of punishment. They were made to do duty as servants to non-combatant officers, they were hewers of wood and drawers of water; they had to engage in long sham fights; they were taken in sections every morning to a shrine erected to the memory of the officers who had been killed because of their failure to obey orders under fire, where they listened to Shinto priests descant for hours upon the enormity of their conduct. This went on for three months until the soldiers, goaded to desperation, petitioned to be sent to the front and to be put in the first rank of the fighting line. They were, and there are none of them left alive to-day.

Behind this story is the evidence of a weakness which makes it absolutely positive that the Japanese in the recent war fought their last great fight. A large percentage of the conscript soldiers of the 8th Osaka Regiment were from the districts of Japan famous for their development of the fine arts and commercial life. During the Chino-Japanese war the soldiers conscripted from this district gained an unenviable reputation for lack of courage. It was found during the progress of the war that the young men of the district eligible for conscription were in the habit of prostituting one of the oldest and most historical shrines in Japan. This shrine

is called Motorogni and is situated far up among the mountains between the city of Kyoto, the ancient capital of Japan, and the city of Otsu, the centre of the silk industry. Japanese mythology states that this shrine was erected by the Empress Jingo, the Joan d'Arc of Japan, on the eve of a punitive expedition to Corea, during which she led her army in person. Before this shrine she is supposed to have prayed for a safe return from the expedition, not on her own account, but in order to give birth to her son, the future Emperor. It was found during the war between Japan and China that young men from the Osaka district eligible for conscription were in the habit of going to Motorogni and petitioning the spirit supposed to be enshrined there for immunity from conscription. During the recent war with Russia I know this ancient shrine was again used for the same purpose. In this prostitution of the ancient shrine of Motorogni is to be found the visible evidence of the lack of that desire to die for the Emperor which still exists in other parts of the Empire. It is evident that the cultivation of the fine arts, and the prosecution of commercial pursuits has robbed the people of the Osaka military district of their primitive military district. If this influence is indicative of what the development of the arts and commerce, with the consequent access of wealth, will do for the Japanese people, it is obvious that the access of wealth which is bound to come to the nation now that the war with Russia is over, will rob the soldiers of the Mikado of that primitive strength and wonderful incentive which made them during the war the most wonderful soldiers in the world. They now possess this primitive strength largely because the people generally in Japan are compelled to live a life of unremitting toil in order to keep body and soul together. A Japanese lives on from half a cent to a cent a day. They grow the finest rice in the world but cannot afford to eat it; they sell their own and buy a cheap Chinese rice for themselves. They have to struggle from the time they are born to keep body and soul together. That is one reason why the Japanese are such good soldiers. To live with them is a burden in a large measure, and to die is a relief.

Another interesting thing in regard to the recent fighting is that among the Japanese generals who commanded armies in Manchuria there was not one who spoke English. The general in command of troops was always a man who had the spirit of old Japan. The head and front of every Japanese army was always a native-born Japanese who had never seen any foreign country, and one of those men was General Nogi, to whom Port Arthur surrendered. He was a splendid specimen of the old class of Japanese. I want to read you a few lines of an invocation which he addressed to the spirits of those who had died and been killed during the siege of Port Arthur. After the place had been taken and the Japanese were in full possession he served a great dinner to all the officers of his army. After the dinner they drank the health of the Emperor. The next day there was a fête to the spirits of the de-

parted. The situation for the fête, which was preceded by a parade of the army, was remarkably well chosen. On the high land whence could be seen every spot where Japanese had fallen during the siege, were drawn up 125,000 soldiers with fixed bayonets. The scene was one that it is almost impossible to describe. The morning opened with a heavy mist, but as the General began to read this invocation the mantle of mist slowly lifted, disclosing first a few lines of bayonets, then an army, magnificent and silent. It was a never to be forgotten sight. Then General Nogi read his invocation with all the simple dignity and nobility so characteristic of great men—and he is a great man, though as a general he made mistakes which no general should have made. This is what he read: "I, Nogi Maresky, Commander-in-Chief of the Third Imperial Army, celebrate a fête in honor of those brave officers and men who fell during the siege, with saké and many offerings.

"From the date of our army's landing in the Kwantung Peninsula, over two hundred and ten days since, you have gone forward with such bravery and fought battles with such gallantry that you have met death from fire and sword. Others of you have died from sickness and disease. I wish to tell you that your noble sacrifice has not been in vain. The troops of the enemy inside the stronghold of Port Arthur have been utterly defeated and the fortress has at last surrendered. This glorious victory is due in a large measure to your indomitable courage and bravery.

"I, Maresky, with many of you, took a solemn oath to achieve victory or accomplish death. Surviving the struggle, I have received the warmest thanks from our Supreme Commander the Emperor. It is not meet that I should monopolize all this glory. With you, the spirits of those who fought and died to win the great result, I desire to share the glory. My heart is oppressed with sadness when I think of all you who have paid the price of our victory, and whose spirits are now in the Great Hereafter.

"I have chosen the place for this fête so that it commands a view of the hills, the valleys, the streams, and the forts which were the scenes of your glorious deaths, and which have been stained with your life blood. First of all I have cleared the ground. Then I have erected this altar upon which I make my offerings and invoke your spirits, hoping that you will come, partake of our offerings, and share the glory of our victory over the enemy." (Loud and long continued applause.)

(December 4, 1905.)

The French-Canadian.

BY CHARLES MARCIL, M.P.

Mr. Charles Marcil, M.P., Ottawa, Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons, addressed the Club as follows:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am fortunate to-day in being with you in one respect at least, that is, that it affords me the opportunity of fulfilling a promise which I made over a year ago, and it is always a good thing for a politician to be able to fulfil a promise. (Laughter.) I am glad to meet the Canadian Club of Toronto, because among its members I have met many old friends, and many new faces it is true, but I hope that among them I shall be able later on to count more friends than I had when I came here this morning. The presence at this table of many who are old friends of mine, though not all sharing my views in politics, makes it all the more pleasant, and I must thank you for the very great honor of inviting me here to-day.

The subject I have taken up is a somewhat threadworn one now, "the French-Canadian," but it needed to be explained more some years ago than it does to-day. To-day the people of Ontario, and the people of Toronto especially, are a reading people, and I am glad to say that we have in Quebec a people who are known and appreciated in the Province of Ontario. We have here one of the members for Toronto (Mr. A. E. Kemp, M.P.), who now sits at this table, who heard the discussions during last session. I think he himself is a native of Quebec. But I shall proceed with the few remarks I have to make. This formidable looking manuscript need not scare you, because I shall keep within the time limit given me.

I have come to speak to you of the past and present of what was New France, under the white flag of France; of Lower Canada and the Province of Quebec, under the British flag. I do not hope that my views will be shared by you all, but I venture to say that you will give me credit for sincerity and frankness.

I am a Canadian; you are Canadians, and as a countryman can speak to his countrymen, I will attempt, with your kind indulgence, to speak to you of one of the most romantic and entertaining chapters in the world's history, which to-day forms part and parcel of our common heritage. A great writer on Canadian history, Francis Parkman, in one of his inspired chapters, says of the past of Canada, under French rule:—

"The French dominion is a thing of the past; and when we invoke its departed shades, they rise upon us from their graves in strange romantic guise. Again their ghostly camp fires seem to burn, and the fitful light is cast around on lord and vassal and black-robed priest,

mingled with wild forms of savage warriors, knit in close fellowship on the same stern errand. A boundless vision grows upon us; an untamed continent; vast wastes of forest verdure; mountains silent in primeval sleep; river, lake, and glimmering pool; wilderness oceans mingling with the sky. Such was the domain which France conquered for civilization. Plumed helmets gleamed in the shade of its forests, priestly vestments in its dens and fastnesses of ancient barbarism. Men steeped in antique learning, pale with the close breath of the cloister, here spent the noon and evening of their lives, ruled savage bands with a mild parental sway, and stood serene before the direst shapes of death. Men of knightly nurture, heirs to the polish of a far reaching ancestry, here with their dauntless hardihood put to shame the boldest son of toil."

With such an admission I think I can say: France has done many great things in her history; one entitled to rank among the greatest is the part which her sons played in America, from Jacques Cartier down to Montcalm and Lévis.

This portion of American history extends from 1534 to 1760, a period of 226 years—a long stretch in the history of a new land. Yet it is doubtful if in the history of the whole world there is to be found anywhere more to interest the average man than is to be found in the history of what was "New France."

You have in that period, the hardy discoverer and navigator, the explorer, and coureurs des bois, the founder of cities, the soldier, the colonizer, the missionary and martyr, the saintly woman giving up her life for the benighted children of the forest; in a word, you have one of the most romantic and fascinating chapters in the history of mankind.

You have here unravelled the gallant attempt of a great nation to lay the foundation of a new commonwealth similar unto herself, and actuated primarily by motives of religion and civilization, which appeal to all lovers of what is grand and beautiful. That France failed in the attempt to make this continent her own is no discredit to her or to her sons. The part they have played in its history will live, to their credit, for all time, in strange contrast to the actions of Spain and Portugal.

The territory which her sons discovered and sought to colonize knows her flag no longer; it is inhabited largely by the descendants of other nations who speak another language than that which her sons spoke, and who kneel at other shrines, but her impress shall live for ever in the names which they gave its rivers, its lakes, its mountains. Cities have sprung up on all sides which recall the name of France and her passage on this continent, from the Straits of Belle Isle to the city of New Orleans. Up and down the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi and the Ohio, up the great lakes to the Rockies, in a word from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, cities stand to-day where stood the chapels of her missionaries, the wooden forts of her soldiers, and the cabins of her adventurers, explorers and discoverers. The doings of her

sons and daughters lie deep down in the records of the American continent, and none will ever arouse a greater and deeper interest to the student of future generations than Cartier, the discoverer of Canada; Champlain, the founder of Quebec; de Maisonneuve, the founder of Montreal; Brébeuf and Lallemant, the first Christian martyrs; Nicolet, the explorer of Lake Michigan; Joliet, La Salle and Marquette, the discoverers of the Mississippi and the Ohio and the great lakes; the saintly women, Marguerite Bourgeois, Mlle, Mance, Mme. d'Jonville, and Marie de l'Incarnation, who founded those sisterhoods which now cover America; de Laval, the first Bishop of Quebec, whose diocese extended from ocean to ocean, and finally the heroes of the last struggle, Montcalm and de Lévis, not to mention a hundred others. (Applause.) No such galaxy of great men and devoted women could have worked in vain for a land, giving up their lives for it, without some lasting impression being made.

Providence decreed otherwise than they thought, believed, lived, struggled and died for. For one hundred and fifty years the fate of this country has been sealed otherwise than they had hoped for. But it may well be said that Providence decrees events which are incomprehensible for the moment to men. While it gave England victory over France for the possession of the northern part of this continent, it so arranged matters that while an army and a navy of France played no small part in the creation of the republic to the south of us, France's own offspring in this country were largely instrumental in keeping Canada for England at a time when insurrection and rebellion were rampant to the south of us—(applause)—and Ontario and the whole western country was a howling wilderness. It must not be overlooked that for twenty years after the surrender of Quebec, the English-speaking population of Canada was limited largely to the army and officials, and it was only after the defeat of Britain's armies at the hands of her own children that the tide of loyalist immigration rolling towards the north and west, that the settlement of English-speaking Canada properly commenced.

Again in Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World" we find a striking chapter on the origin of the French and English commonwealths on this continent, which it is instructive and interesting to consider for a moment, and which may serve as a starting point in the considerations and observations I shall make. After describing the conditions existing at that time in Europe and in New England, Parkman says:—

"We turn to New France and all is reversed. Here was a bold attempt to crush under the exactions of a grasping hierarchy, to stifle under the curbs and trappings of a feudal monarchy, a people compassed by influences of the wildest freedom, whose schools were the forest and the sea, whose trade was an armed barter with savages, and whose daily life a lesson of lawless independence. But this fierce spirit had its vent. The story of New France is from the first a story of war; of war—for so her founders believed—with the adversary of mankind himself; war with

savage tribes and forest commonwealths; war with England, and the encroaching forms of heresy. Her brave, unthinking people were stamped with the soldier's virtues and with the soldier's faults; and in their leaders were displayed, on a grand and novel stage, the energies, the aspirations, and the passions which belong to hopes vast and vague, ill-restricted powers and notions of command.

The power of New England was the result of the aggregate efforts of a busy multitude, each in his narrow circle toiling for himself, to gather competence or wealth. The expansion of New France was the achievement of a gigantic ambition striving to grasp a continent. It was a vain attempt. Long and valiantly her chiefs upheld her cause, leading to battle a vassal population warlike as themselves, borne down by numbers from without, wasted by corruption from within. New France fell at last, and out of her fall grew revolutions whose influence to this hour are felt through every nation of the civilized world."

Harsh as is the judgment of Parkman, and incidentally that of most English-speaking writers, it contains much that is true, but there are certain statements from which I would dissent if time permitted me to enter at greater length into many interesting chapters of the history of New France.

I must pass on to Quebec under the British flag.

After the French and the English had fought their last battle on Canadian soil in 1760, they both settled down to work and very soon found they could agree to make this country prosperous for their mutual benefit. The French population had all the requisites to form the nucleus of a steady and conservative people. From the origin of New France to its last days, the settlers sent from the mother country were of the very best stock, many of them hailing from Normandy, which was no obstacle to their intercourse with the English population who came to make Canada their home under the new regime. Both Generals Murray and Carleton, our two first Governors, have praised the new subjects of the King, to whom, they said, a large measure of justice should be meted out if Great Britain desired to keep her conquest.

When the English colonies rose in rebellion against the Crown, they did everything possible to induce the French-Canadians to come to their side. Our ancestors saw no reason why they should break away from their allegiance, and the leading classes of the time, the clergy and what remained of the noblesse, *i.e.*, "the Seigneurs"—many of whom had gone to France after the Treaty of Paris—became more and more attached to British institutions and more and more friendly to their English countrymen. The French revolution, with all its horrors, was so antipathetic to the monarchical and religious feelings of the French inhabitants that they severed all ties of relationship with France and simply styled themselves *Canadians*—Canadians—and not French-Canadians. (Applause.)

To demonstrate how the two elements of our population happily mingled together, let us remember that under the first Parliament of the Constitution in 1791, a large number of French constituencies returned English-speaking members to the House of Assembly. In the cities, the two elements of the population met in society and in the country parts the English families which settled there received every mark of consideration from the people around them.

If, later on, national feuds broke out in Quebec, they were due to the constitution, which placed the power in the hands of a set of men altogether devoted to the Executive and excluding the remainder from all share in the administration of public affairs. This state of things lasted for forty years, in spite of the strong protest of the Canadians who, year after year, exposed their grievances to the home Government. Suppose that to-day the Governor would so arrange matters that the same men, the same party, would always be in office. What would take place? It is needless to dilate on this question, because Upper Canada suffered also from the vice of a like constitution, though much less, for the question here was not mixed up with religious and national feelings. It is well, however, to refer briefly to the political troubles of the times, because they have been used as an argument against Lower Canada, to prove the want of loyalty of its population. It will not also be out of place in this connection to draw attention to the fact that when the trouble culminated in open rebellion, a number of English-speaking Canadians sided with the French, the leaders in the two principal engagements being English-speaking, Brown and Nelson.

When the new Constitution was given to Lower Canada removing the cause for friction and giving fair play to all, both populations co-operated in a most friendly manner to bring about the best results from British institutions. What influence had each element on the other? This is one of those interrogations to which it is not easy to give a definite answer. In another order of things, when a man and a woman enter into the bonds of marriage it is almost sure that a certain influence exerted will modify the character, the temper of both contracting parties, sometimes for good and sometimes for worse. It will occur to many that in this alliance it is the influence of the better half that prevails. But in the matter which occupies us just now it is perhaps more difficult to limit the field of influence. I can only answer for my people. It seems to me that the ideas of the French-Canadians have been modified by contact with their English friends. For example: It is a fact that in business matters the French-Canadians will get along as well if not better with the English than with Old Country Frenchmen. It cannot be denied also that the French-Canadian is better adapted to self-government than his cousin across the sea, and that he has always shown a disposition to work harmoniously with his neighbors of different origins.

How far you have been affected by French influence it is hard to say, because the population of Ontario has not had the same intercourse with the French as the English of Lower Canada have had. If this influence has had no effect on you, it may still be pointed out that public men from this Province modified their opinion of French-Canadians after they had become better acquainted with them. The French and English-speaking people of Quebec get along remarkably well together and the French of Quebec could, if they ever needed it, find in their English-speaking fellow citizens men prepared to defend them upon all occasions.

We have all heard a great deal of the Church in Quebec. I am quoting from Parkman to enable me to state my views frankly in that important phase of Quebec's national life:—

"With the Peace of Paris ended the checkered story of New France: a story which would have been a history of faults of constitution if the bigotry and folly of rulers had not dwarfed it to an episode. Yet it is a noteworthy one in both its lights and shadows; in the disinterested zeal of the founders of Quebec; the self-devotion of the early missionary martyrs and the daring enterprise of explorers, in the spiritual and temporal vassalage from which the only escape was to the savagery of the wilderness; and in the swarming corruptions which were the natural result of an attempt to rule by the absolute hand of a master beyond the Atlantic, a people bereft of every vestige of civil liberty. Civil liberty was given them by the British sword; but the conquerors left their religious system untouched and through it they have imposed upon themselves a weight of ecclesiastical tutelage that finds few equals in the most Catholic countries of Europe."

I agree with much that Parkman says, with the single exception of his views on Quebec's religious system, in which he was amiss in his judgment probably as a result of his imperfect knowledge.

It must be remembered that from the birth of the French colonies in America, the priest had at all times been the counsellor, friend and adviser of the poor man. Often the priest stood between the poor man and the seigneur and prevented many injustices and oftentimes obtained redress. In the early days and at all times in fact, the priest was virtually the chief of the flock. It was he who baptized the child, wedded the young people, advised and comforted all classes, and stood by the grave of the departed after offering the prayers of the Church for their souls.

When France abandoned Canada all the leading classes, civil and military, returned to the Old Country. With the farmer, the pioneer, there remained only the priest, faithful to his mission to the last. After the week's laborious and painful task was ended the Church was the rallying place where the people found consolation and advice.

The priest took charge of the education of the children. The colony was practically a colony of orphans torn from its parent. What was to become of the 60,000 people which France had abandoned? The priest

first induced all to bow to the decree of Providence which the gallant effort of generations had been powerless to avert. He advised and succeeded in inducing the French-Canadians to at once become British subjects. The pastoral letters of the Bishops of Quebec at that time are monuments of wisdom and good sense. The people were well advised from the very start. Then, when the English colonies took up arms against England, when Montreal was in the hands of an American army and Quebec was being assailed by the troops of the American commonwealth, the Roman Catholic clergy of Canada stood by England and induced the French-Canadians to do likewise. (Applause.) This action in those critical days probably prevented the entire continent from passing under the sway of the "Stars and Stripes."

The priest established schools, founded colleges and universities and produced the long galaxy of remarkable men which Quebec has given Canada. These were the men who helped to secure for Canadians generally the splendid constitutional regime which we now have. When the French-Canadians in 1837, driven to exasperation by the injustices of the Family Compact and the office holders, who trampled under foot the elementary principles of the British Constitution, took up arms, not against England, but against its representatives, the clergy were active in advising the people to trust to constitutional methods.

In more peaceful times, the clergy, in the words of Lord Dufferin, have become "the best moral agency in the world."

Therefore the impression which prevails in many places that the Catholic Church has been the bane of Quebec is wrong. It has helped in the spiritual and moral upbuilding of the people and made of the French-Canadian "habitant" one of the most industrious, peaceable, law-abiding men in the world. The growth of the population from 60,000 at the time of the cession of two millions in a century and a half is unsurpassed in the world's history, and speaks volumes for the teachings and morality inculcated to the people of Quebec by their Church. (Applause.) The clergy have built up in Quebec, all circumstances considered, a community which will find few equals. For, again, remember that French-Canadians have received no help from France for a century and a half; no immigration has invaded their Province. What they have they owe to themselves alone and to the systems, religious and political, under which they live. We have large churches in Quebec, it is true, but the bulk of the people are of the one faith. But for the Church in Quebec the French-Canadians would have long since ceased to exist as a distinct body; they would have been assimilated with other races and would have lost both their faith and their language.

Now, let me come to the French-Canadian of to-day. The Canadian of French origin of to-day resembles very much his fathers. He is a jovial character, fond of enjoyment; of a roving character, he still overruns the continent, and there are few places where he is not to be found. It is

said of him, and very truly, that while he has inherited the faults and good traits of his ancestors, he has been modified by time and circumstances. But he still loves to sing the old songs of Normandy and Brittany. Colonel Strange, during the North-West expedition, 1885, said that the French-Canadian volunteers of the 65th Battalion dragged the cannon through the muskegs and swamps singing "A la claire fontaine" and "Vive la Canadienne." (Applause.) The military instinct still lives in him. The spirit of the three hundred heroes of Chateauguay is as strong to-day as it was then, and at Paardeberg, and other places in South Africa, the French-Canadian volunteer did his duty as a man. (Applause.)

Since the days of Lafontaine and Baldwin, there has been a constant aim, I believe, with the majority of both French and English-speaking Canadians, to bring about a permanent understanding for the good of this country. In Quebec we look upon Lafontaine and Baldwin as the veritable founders of responsible and constitutional government in Canada. We think it was due to their patriotic endeavors and good work that the union of the Canadas was made possible and profitable. Large numbers of French-Canadians looked upon Confederation with fear and trembling lest it might prove to be the grave of their nationality. Such has not been the case.

If the French-Canadian is not as keen and successful in business matters, largely owing to want of capital, and connections in Europe, such as the English-speaking Canadians have had, and still have, he has not been a laggard in the race and has been to some extent a success in the political field. (Applause.)

It is now a matter beyond dispute and of history, that from the cession up to Confederation, and even for some years after, there was a large party in Canada who believed, and in fact were satisfied that it was only a question of time for the Canadians of French origin, when they would be swamped by the British races. That was an idle dream, but quite explicable and natural at that time. The part played by Lafontaine and Cartier, to mention only two, was such as to save their French compatriots from what in the Union, and in Confederation was predicted would be, their end as a separate and distinct element of the Canadian people. The crisis has now been passed, and though Canadians speaking the French language may never hope to be in the majority, unless they succeed in inducing more of their English-speaking compatriots to learn and speak French—(laughter)—as they themselves learn and speak English—(applause)—it is tolerably certain that as long as French continues to be spoken, it will be the dialect of a large number of Canadians. This is no misfortune. I am sure that a man is better equipped who speaks two languages than the person who only speaks one. (Hear, hear.) Of course necessity is a great factor in this case. We like to learn and speak English because it is a beautiful and useful language, and it is a compliment to the English-speaking Canadians to be able to speak their language; but a man

who has once learnt the language of France will never give it up if he is a good judge of language. (Laughter and applause.)

It is no menace, and no danger to Canada, for her people to speak two languages; it only proves that they know more than those who speak only one. (Applause.) It would be a great folly to imagine for one moment that the Canadian speaking French is less attached to this country, or less loyal to its institutions and the flag which protects them. The Swiss republic has existed for centuries with more than one language. French-Canadians have no other country but Canada—(cheers)—there is no old country for them in the sense that it is employed by many English-speaking Canadians. This "Canada of Ours" is their only country. You will not find one French-Canadian in a thousand who has ever been in France, or who ever dreams of going there, or who has any relative or connection whatever in that country. His whole soul and heart is in Canada; his fathers sleep in the bosom of this country, and it is here that he in turn will find his last resting place.

It is amusing to see how little many people on this continent and beyond it know of the French-Canadian people and their aspirations, and the conditions prevailing among them. The sum of nonsense which has been published concerning them is simply indescribable. We have heard of their dreaming of a French republic on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and of Menier, the Chocolate King, acquiring Anticosti for the purpose of fortifying it and swamping the English fleet. No such idle and silly dreams haunt the French-Canadian habitant. He is peaceable, law abiding; he marries young with the girl of his choice, and has a small opinion of himself if he cannot bring up a dozen children—(laughter)—and claim the 100 acres of land which the Province allows him for twelve living children. This law, owing to the large number of applicants, was repealed last year. (Loud laughter.) There is no race suicide in Quebec.

The French-Canadian works hard and will strive and prosper where the best immigrant from Europe will starve. He will cut down a home for himself and his wife and children in the forest, and stands to-day without a peer in this or an other country as a colonizer, and a pioneer in the roughest lands in America. (Hear, hear.) He knows that his great-great-grandfather came from France, and that is all; he knows that the France of Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV. handed him over body and soul to the English in spite of the fact that the last battle between French and British troops fought on the St. Lawrence, at Ste. Foye, was a French victory, and that if he is alive to-day he owes it to God, to himself, and to the liberty and freedom which he found under the British flag. (Applause.) He remembers that in 1776 and 1812 the French-Canadian shouldered his musket and helped to save the British flag to this country and kept the Yankee within his boundaries. He remembers also that the English office-holders who were sent out from

England did their best for a time to prevent him from enjoying the liberty and rights which he was entitled to as a British subject, and that his people had to fire a few shots in '37-'38 at St. Denis, St. Charles and St. Eustache, which shots hastened the advent of responsible government in this country. He is a Roman Catholic at heart, attached to his religion, as having been handed down to him from time immemorial; but he respects all other creeds. He is aware that but for the action and work and influence of the clergy, his existence would be a thing of the past. He sees no reason why he should not be free to speak French if he wishes to, and to go to the Church of his choice. In a word, he is a good citizen of Canada; Canada will never have any better, but he wants to be left in peace. The first people to ask the severance of the tie which binds us to Great Britain will not be the French-Canadians. (Applause.) When Canada needs the habitant, she will find him, and those who have tried him say that he is a good man—they all say so, without any exception.

By natural increase, the French-Canadian has always been at home in Quebec, but he is now fast becoming a citizen of Ontario. He is now a factor in Eastern Ontario and will be in Northern Ontario in another generation. In the Maritime Provinces some of the descendants of the Acadians, banished to the winds by the cruel tragedy of Grand Pré, have returned, and are increasing rapidly. These are all good citizens of Canada. The English people of Ontario have no reason to fear them; they are working for no other country but Canada. The million of Canadians of French origin now in the United States are friendly allies of this country. Of late years, the French-Canadian has made great progress in all the walks of life, and feels easily in the vanguard with his fellow-countrymen of other origins. He has seen his kinsmen play brilliant parts upon the political stage and shed lustre upon public life; one of his countrymen in religious life has been raised to the high position of a Cardinal of the Church; others perform good service in all walks of life; Laval University, the first Roman Catholic university to receive a charter from a British Sovereign since the Reformation, stands second to none, and is extending her work all through French-speaking Canada; his newspaper press has made immense strides—some of his daily papers exceeding the circulation of any English paper in Canada; two of his litterateurs have been crowned by the French Academy. Very many of the young medical men pass through the medical schools of France and England before settling down to practice; in arts and sciences he fairly holds his own, and in literature he ranks with his English-speaking compatriots; his Ecole Polytechnique is turning out engineers who are to be found all over the land; and Captain Bernier, full of adventurous spirit of the old times, is dying for an opportunity of reaching the North Pole—(applause)—his clergy still have the missionary spirit; and the French-Canadian priest and the French-Canadian nun are to be found in the

borders of the Arctic Ocean. In military matters, he has turned out soldiers like De Salaberry and Sir Percy Girouard, and many others who covered themselves with glory, and recruited in his ranks volunteers, who, whether in the muskges of the North-West or on the veldt of South Africa, were able and did, while fulfilling their duties manfully, sing the old songs of French Canada and "La Belle France," and to die for England's meteor flag, which has become his flag. Illiteracy is fast becoming a thing of the past in Quebec, and the elementary school is to be found in the remotest districts.

On the whole, the Canadian is satisfied with his fate; he celebrates yearly the feast of St. Jean Baptiste, his patron saint, but his emblem is the Maple Leaf of Canada. Among his national hymns is "Vive la Canadienne," in which he exalts the beauty and virtue of the Canadian woman. Never having known or seen the vanished white flag of old France, he at times, on holidays, flies to the breeze the tri-color of France, but that flag he first saw displayed in the streets of Montreal in honor of British troop at the time of the Crimean war, when France and England stood shoulder to shoulder, and he looks upon it as the flag of an ally, reminding him of the days when French and British fought and died together, at Alma, Redan, Inkerman and Sebastopol. (Applause.) And, thanks to our noble King, France and England are friends to-day. (Loud applause.)

When England's soldiers and England's sailors come to and leave Canada, there is no place more than in the old Rock City of Quebec where they receive a warmer welcome or a more friendly God-speed. It is in Quebec that the dissensions of the past have been forgotten and buried, and that monuments stand erected jointly to the memory of the defeated French and the victorious English. It is there that the last stand for England's flag has been made against American invaders and where it may be made again. It is there that thousands of French-Canadians cheered to the echo the parting "Sardinian" loaded down with the flower of Canadian youth going to fight and die for England and the Empire in South Africa. The French-Canadian wants to do his share for Canada, to make of it a nation worthy of the nations from which it sprang. He asks and expects his countrymen of this great Province of Ontario to look upon him as a brother and not as an alien, to remember all that is elevating in the past, and to bury all dissensions and discords. (Applause.)

My time has about expired, Mr. Chairman. (Voices: "Go on.") "I will conclude by merely giving you an expression from a man for whom I always had the greatest respect. I refer to the late Reverend Principal Grant. (Applause.) He concluded an introductory article on Canada, a text-book issued by the Dominion Government, in the following words:—

"To the political and historical students probably the chief interest of Canada lies in the existence side by side of the civilizations of different

types, French-speaking Quebec with its racial peculiarities, its people devotedly attached to their own language, laws and literature, and their own religious traditions and forms, wedged in between the English-speaking Maritime Provinces on the one side and by Ontario and the great west on the other.

"Will gradual fusion take place between these widely scattered elements and a nation be formed combining the best qualities of both as Norman, Saxon and Cymri fused in England, Norsemen and Celt in Scotland, and equally composite elements in Ireland? Oracles gloomily predict political strife, ending some day in open conflict, and probably with not a few of these the wish is father to the thought; but careful students of our actual development during the last fifty years—the period in which both races have worked together harmoniously in Provincial and Federal affairs, since their emancipation from the Colonial Office—take a different view. They entertain no doubts concerning our future. The interaction of the two elements gives distinctive color to our national life. To despair of a peaceful solution of the problem on a continent where English speech and constitutional forms are so overwhelming predominant argues astonishing lack of faith in our ideals and moral forces, and in the far-reaching result of free institutions."

These were the views of one of the most enlightened, broad-minded and patriotic of Canadians. These views, I am confident, are shared by us all. They should be the views of all Canadians no matter the stock from which they sprang. We have a mission to fulfil. Clubs such as yours can do an immense lot of good in this patriotic work. Let the past bury its dead. We are all proud of the races from which we came; we are the sons of the first nations of the world. We have for a mission to carry into effect the greatest triumphs of each; Britain in commerce, navigation, popular government, civil and religious liberty; France in literature, arts and sciences. We stand as a band of brothers prepared to live and die for this country. (Applause.) Canada is destined to become a great nation. Our children's children will be the citizens of a powerful commonwealth extending from ocean to ocean, forming one grand fatherland, peopled by millions upon millions of free people recruited from all parts of the world. The twentieth century will witness the advance of Canada in all paths of progress. The infant of yesterday will be the giant of to-morrow. (Applause.)

Let us be worthy citizens of this country and let us build upon the solid rock of Christianity, charity, and mutual forbearance. Let us live down bigotry, crush down prejudice and illumine the path with the Eternal light which never grows dim, of justice and truth. Let each one of us do what in him lies, to attain this great goal and these high ideals. Let us do what is right. May the day have come at last when a Canadian may feel at home in any part of this country, when provincialism exists merely for purposes of government, and its shade has departed for ever in the minds of all true men.

Let the rising generations be better if possible than were those of the past in this respect. Let the word go forward that the Canadians are one for civil and religious liberty in its broadest and truest sense. Let this be the land of freedom in its truest sense. Let us learn the great lesson of the past, taught us in the blood of our kindred. Let us show the world that we are worthy of the past and prepared for the present; the future will take care of itself. (Applause.)

It is related that Montcalm on his death-bed, after the great duel of the Plains of Abraham, and when Wolfe's soul had departed to its Maker, sent the following note to Brigadier Townsend, then in command of the British:—

“Sir,—The humanity of the British sets my mind at peace concerning the fate of the French prisoners, and the Canadians. Feel towards them as they have caused me to feel. Do not let them perceive that they have changed masters. Be their protector as I have been their father.”

The wish of the dying hero was respected. The humanity of England was equal to the undertaking, and to-day her name stands high in the annals of the world and nowhere more so than in this country and on this continent, where her lessons have been learnt, where her spirit of the government of man will live for ever. Here true British liberty lives! Here exist liberty of worship and freedom of speech; here the memory of the soldier who died for his country, no matter the flag or the uniform, sleeps the eternal sleep, respected and envied by all; here are known and honored the citizens who struggled and fought for liberty; here true loyalty to the principles of right and truth prevail, that Canadians of generations yet unborn may never forget the past; that the men of to-day and the men of to-morrow may be worthy links between the past and the future, is, I am sure, the fond hope of us all.

In that work the Canadian Club can do an immense lot of good. The example was started from Ontario, was started, I believe, from Hamilton, and from Toronto is now coming into Quebec. We have in Ottawa on the borders of Quebec and in Montreal magnificent clubs such as yours, recruited among the reputable, among the intelligent men of those cities. And, gentlemen, the work which you have commenced is a patriotic work.

You have honored me immensely by asking me to be with you to-day and giving me an opportunity of saying a few words in this disconnected fashion; but I can assure you that it is highly appreciated, and that my fondest wish for your club is that it may continue in the good work which you have so well commenced. (Loud cheers.)

(December 11, 1905.)

Things that Make a Nation.

BY REV. T. B. KILPATRICK, D.D.

I beg to thank you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, for the honor you have done me in inviting me to this goodly meeting. I do not suppose there is any gathering in the country like it, and I do feel most sincerely that it is an honor to be present with you, though I do feel also that it is a very serious responsibility to attempt to speak to you on matters with which, as practical men, you are more intimately acquainted than I can be. My own department is somewhat remote from the actions and thought of the business world, and yet I declare to you that I would not hold the office I do hold if I believed that it were simply a sort of back water in the great stream of national life; my belief is, my hope is, my whole energy is to make my own work, ecclesiastical though it be, tell, humbly indeed, but not indirectly, upon the life of the nation as a whole.

Now, we are here together to-day to spend a few minutes in thinking about "the things that make a nation." We each one of us are realizing, I believe, that we have a task laid upon us, the task of citizenship, and if we are to understand what our task is, and if we are to labor at it intelligently, we must have some idea of what we wish our nation to be. We must be regulated by some general conception of what the nation is to be, and of how Canada is to fulfil the promise of its splendid youthtime.

Now, in one word, my conviction is that a nation is made by its ideals. Out West you will find that material things are thrown into your face at every turn. You sit in the smoking compartment of a Pullman car, and you will hear nothing but material things talked about from Winnipeg to the Coast. There is the wheat belt, and in that it will be wheat and nothing else; through another belt it will be ranching, and again in another it will be minerals and mining, and still again it will be lumber, and you will wind up at the Coast with fish, and all the way over the line the supposition in men's minds seems to be that the nation will be made by the abundance of those things which it possesses. My own profound persuasion, gained by observation and experience, is that a nation is made, not by these things, but by the ideals of the people who compose it, and I think that that is the most practical power that can be applied in directing the history of a nation; it is the ideal that men have formed that governs them; and by this the nation is made.

Now, just let us run over a few of those ideal things, and first of all is the commercial ideal. You will not expect me to speak very much about that, because you are all in the thick of it, and know more of it than I do. But we are all agreed that a nation requires wealth, and in one respect the wealthier a nation is the greater it will be. Now, wealth may be, often is, a very base and vulgar thing, and a very debasing thing in the make-up of a nation. But it need not be so. It may also catch the sunlight of a great ideal upon it, and it may be transfigured into a crown of glory. If wealth be real, if it be the register of the actual resources of the people, and if it be acquired by diligent effort, if it fills its real function in the commercial world, and if it be distributed, I will not say equally, for that is impossible, but if it is equitably distributed and without any artificial restraint, and in order to be used nobly in the service of humanity in the providing of things that are pure and good, and in the providing, I will dare to say, of luxuries, supposing those luxuries are such as make life nobler, more splendid and more magnificent, I think we have there a commercial ideal.

Then another ideal is the social ideal. I think that in the make-up of that ideal there are two elements which are certainly not contradictory, though they, at the first glance, are not identical. I mean "individuality" and "organic unity," and both of these are endangered by the prevalence of democracy, and there is no more democratic community, I suppose, on the face of the earth than this Canada of ours. Now, individuality is essential in the social ideal; there must be room for the many phases of individuality, for individuality in character, individuality in energy, individuality in enterprise, in ambition, and in independence. You must not crush individuality under the iron rule of trade conditions or labor conditions or the political conditions of democracy. We shall make a very poor nation of it if Canada presents nothing but a duplication of city after city strung out across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It will be a miserable country to live in if you have simply men in it who are copies of one another. You must have men who think originally, who act independently, and who have their own conception of how to make themselves great. And along with that you must have organic unity, because it is very possible to have an individualism that will be destructive of national life. But the tendency of individualism in this direction must be checked by the independence of all lives upon one another. We must have fraternity, not as a mere adornment of the idea such as the Revolutionists approved and placed over the facade of Notre Dame; you must have fraternity strengthened by the common needs, made intelligent and strong and disciplined by the pursuance of common ideals and the service of the commonwealth. Put these two things together and you have a society that has room for men, and a society in which men are members one

of another. Thus you will have pretty nearly an ideal society in Canada.

Then again, you must have an educational ideal for citizenship; for the task of citizenship you must have educated men. That is to say, you must have men who are in living contact with things of the mind; the kind of men who are in contact with a universe that is not limited by space and time, a universe that is constituted by the great realities of mind, realities that belong to the spiritual life of man, using that word in the very broadest sense. You want education to make man effective as a workman. I was very proud of one of my students in Manitoba College, a young lady; she was in a railway car with Premier Roblin, and Mr. Roblin said, as, of course, he had every right to say, that education was of no use to anybody. She replied that if a man was to drive a post he would do it better if he did it with a trained intelligence and a trained intellect, and she answered rightly. And education is not merely for the workman, but, of course, it is needed for all those who are to be captains of industry, as I take it many of you are. It is wanted that a man shall be educated, I do not say in school alone, certainly not in school alone, but it must have its powers enlarged by experience and contact with the great quickening forces which are actuating the world to-day. Then, again, education is wanted to prepare citizens for the solution of great national problems, and I take it you and I are well aware that there is no country on the face of the earth to-day where there are greater or more complex problems than those which we have to face in this Canada of ours. I do not think we ought to be content with telling one another how great our resources are, but we have to tell one another that we are face to face with problems which, if we give them the go-by, or if we fail to solve them, will wreck our civilization. I do not need to go into details; you all know and realize that when you have an enormous mass of humanity cast down upon our great North West from all quarters of the globe, people of different races and different ideals, then this great country of ours is up against the very gravest possible situation. There is going to be ruin unless you can handle that situation, and you cannot handle it unless you have men who have been trained to think, and unless you have men who have passed through the discipline of facing great questions.

Then, again, education is wanted, of course, to develop a spirit of patriotism. You cannot solve these problems, you cannot believe in your country, or labor for its future, unless you have read and pondered the record of its past. This record in the case of Canada is not merely the history of the two centuries in which it has existed, but the whole history of the two principal races which constitute its population, as well as of those complex people that are to make up the nation of the future.

Now, then, we have got to be an educated people, and I take it you are all aware there are certain foes of education rampant in our midst just now, and though I may be saying things that you do not agree with, let me say them as frankly as a man can. I believe that the great foe, the one great foe of education in this country is denominationalism. I do not mean at all that we have not educated Methodists, educated Anglicans, and educated Presbyterians—of course all Presbyterians are educated—but what I do mean is that you are not to educate men to be Methodists, or to be Anglicans, or to be Presbyterians, or to educate them to be Baptists, or whatever other sects they may belong to, but I do mean that they should be educated in the first instance to be citizens. An educational system that is contrived in the interests of any denomination, however big or however strong its claims may be is, in my judgment, a profound political and organic mistake.

Then another grave foe of education is over-specialization. This is a somewhat detailed question that we have not time to go into just now. But by way of illustration I will tell you what the head of one of our great educational institutions in Canada said to me the other day. There was a certain position vacant in his university, and among the applicants was a young man from south of the border, and he was an expert in that particular department in which the vacancy existed. He came laden with certificates from I know not what institutions in the South, and yet my friend said to me that they had not talked ten minutes together before he knew that the young man would not do for the place, simply because he was not an educated man; he had begun to be a specialist before he had acquired a trained intelligence, or had become a broad-minded or cultivated gentleman. That is what we want. And then, and this applies more to the public school, we have the foe of what you might call mechanism, in which you have a code which stifles rather than stimulates mental energy.

Another ideal is the moral ideal, and here we get into a great question, but I would direct you to two great authorities upon morality, one is the great philosopher Plato, and what he will teach you is the predominance of justice. There must be justice to make a community, and by justice he means that there is a place for every man, and that every man is to fill that place with the honest endeavors of his whole heart and soul. He has got to feel his vocation, his function in the community, that no man is to oppress his fellows, or try to occupy his place. Now, I take it this community of ours must go back to elementary conditions; there have been things happening in our midst, not so long ago, which have been burning that into us the principle that there must be justice if there is going to be a permanence of our civilization; if there is no justice we shall be rotten before we are ripe, and we shall go to pieces.

There is a terrible possibility if justice be forgotten, a terrible possibility, of precisely those conditions and those qualities of which I have been speaking turning into more than possibilities. We ought to have individual enterprise, but without justice it will become illegitimate speculation; we must have energy, but without justice it will be mere unscrupulous scheming. We must have individual independence, but without justice it will become reckless disregard of honor and truth, and a defiant invasion of the elemental rights of man. We must labor, therefore, in this community of ours to see that in its organism every man is fulfilling his function and the whole is working together in the harmony of one dominant conception.

The other great author to whom I would send you, you will pardon me alluding to him here, and yet I make no apology for it, the other author is the Apostle Paul. He will teach you about justice, he will say there is something more than justice, he will call it "love"; I do not know what other or better name to give it than that, and what he means by it is that the man is not merely to fill his own place, but that he is to consider his brother, that he is to believe in his brother's possibilities, that he is to secure for him the opportunity of devoting himself to his own part in the common life. What is wanted is more impartiality, but impartiality touched by a great emotion, and that emotion is enthusiasm for humanity.

There is a possibility, a possibility which some writers in the United States of America have said has been almost realized there, and that is of having a "virtuous materialism," that is to say, that you may have multitudes of men who are decent men, men who are not violating any of the laws of the land, men who are eating meals that no doubt they have paid for, and who are wearing clothes that they would pay for soon, and are behaving themselves with a fair amount of discretion, and yet within the whole four corners of their being there is no room for passion, no room for enthusiasm, and there is no room or possibility of self-denial. If you have a community in which there are multitudes of lives like that, you will have a community that I, for one, do not want to live in, for a longer time than to wait for the first train that will take me out of it. There is no possibility of living a great life where you have this virtuous materialism as the only ideal entertained by the citizens. I say, "God save the soil of Canada from being encumbered by earthy minded and selfish men, however decent fellows they may otherwise be. God send us any discipline, whether it be the blight of our harvests or the desolating march of the invader. God send us anything to shake us out of this absorption in merely material things." It is, among other things, by the stern discipline and experience of war that Scotland and Switzerland both have won for themselves the place that they hold among the nations to-day. It does not matter what the circumstances, but we must have this ambition, high

above our decent \$3,000 or \$4,000 a year, or whatever your standard may be, we must have this ambition before us as our dream and our inspiration, that we are to live for the men that are about us.

Lastly, you will allow me to say, that there is or ought to be a religious ideal. Now, all wise men are of the same religion, and no one is, in this place, going to discuss one religion as compared with another. But I take it, if we have been thoughtful men at all, if we have read and thought at all, we shall have arrived at this conclusion, that a nation is made, among other elements, by its religious ideals. Religion is wanted, for instance, in order to deepen the sense of political responsibility in the exercise of political rights. If you make a man simply a mere unit in an immense party, a party which takes the whole responsibility of it, that man is losing one-half of his rights, and his dignity as a man.

Again, religion is wanted to strengthen the individual against the tyranny of the majority. It was religion that enabled our ancestors to stand up against the bullying of king or council, and it will be religion that will enable us to stand up to-day against the bullying of party or of trusts. It is the belief that men are not simply units, that they are not simply bundles of flesh and bone, that men are allies of the Great Power that governs the universe, that they are linked together in one common cause. That is the faith that will make men free, that has made them free in ancient times, and will do so in these days of democracy. It is religion that will establish in the citizen, the conviction that will give him the assurance of the inherient worth of men. The vindication of this fact belongs to religion, for it is religion alone that warrants us in believing that the ultimate realities are spiritual and personal.

Now, gentlemen, we have not time for much more, but let us take these ideals, let us take these things that you and I have thought of, and ask what is to be the upshot on your lives and upon other lives? Let you and me in our respective places in life so toil for the realization of those ideals that we shall bring them to bear upon the things we do, that we shall bring them to bear upon our study of history and of politics; that we shall endeavor in every possible way to strengthen those institutions which make for the realization of those ideal things; such institutions as are wrought into the very fabric of society. First of these is the home. Threatened as it is by invasion from many quarters, this sacred unit, this nursery of citizenship, this source of the strength of nationhood must be kept inviolate and pure in our land.

Second, there is the public school, and the public school must have for its service the very best thought. I believe that very many of the evils under which we are laboring just now have begun in the public school, or, at least, they might be corrected there. The other day I ventured to say, what some, perhaps, might reproach me for, that

the evils of Canada were not so much gross fleshly sins, not so much drunkenness or uncleanness as mental sins, that is, sins of unreliability, sins of want of trust. I may mention that a head master of one of the public schools, whom I do not know at all, wrote me from Winnipeg, having seen what I had said in the paper, and said: "You have said the exact facts regarding the evils of Canada," and he went on to state that in the public school in which he was a teacher the greatest difficulty they had was to convince the boys and girls of the necessity of speaking the plain truth. He laid the blame largely on the mixture of our population; I do not know what it is, but whatever the cause may be we have to see to it, that the purpose of the public school shall not be considered as ended when you have stuffed these boys and girls with all sorts of facts; but that it is meant to be a training school for citizenship and for public morality.

Another great institution to which, I dare say, some of us have but very imperfect allegiance, but I will deal with it here, is the Christian Church. If you will look back upon history you will find that this has been the instrument for the amelioration of the lot of man, and that it was ever against the proud forces of materialism that the Church has stood. I am holding no brief for any particular church, but I am saying I believe that Jesus Christ knew what he was about when he founded the Church on the earth, and you and I will be failing in our duty as citizens unless we are loyal to that religious institution to which we may happen to belong.

Then there are two institutions which are potent in our land to-day, potent either for destruction or for elevation, just as you and I make them. One is the daily press and the other the political party. It is by these institutions that this country is going in a great measure to be made, and it is the business, not merely of the editor, or the reporter, or statesman, but it is the business also of the citizen to see to it that the press and the party are educating this nation of ours in what constitutes real nationhood. You will not for a moment misunderstand me. I do not care two straws to what political party you belong, but that party may be made from your service to it, either a power for uplifting or a power for degradation. It is up to you to say, which it is to be.

Now, these tasks are required from us, by the future that awaits us and the generation that is yet unborn; and this obligation, this task of citizenship is laid upon us also by the heroic past.

"We must be free or die, who speak the
tongue that Shakespeare spoke,
The faith and morals hold, that Milton held."

(January 8, 1906.)

American Forestry.

BY HON GIFFORD PINCHOT, CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES FOREST SERVICE.

Mr. Pinchot said:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—What your chairman has so kindly said about forestry work in the United States is, I am afraid, rather more in the nature of a prophecy than a statement of fact, for, while we have made progress, we are not yet in a position to deserve all the kind words he has said.

I am here to speak of American forestry. That means forestry on both sides of the line. I find the problems so absolutely alike that you have to meet here and that we have to meet in the United States because the conditions are the same, the topography and the national characteristics are the same, and consequently it seemed to me the best thing I could do was not to speak to you of things you have here, except as I describe them when I describe the things we have there.

Forestry with us and forestry with you is first of all a business proposition and nothing else. We are approaching it strictly from that point of view, not because we do not love the forests and enjoy them and see the need for protection of game, for game protection itself is a business proposition, but the fundamental thing which we claim is simply that forestry, for both the nation and the individual, is a business matter, to be treated on business lines, and that unless it is worth while as a business proposition it is not worth bothering about. I have no use for a forest that is not good for something, and a forest that is simply good to look at is good for very little. We have consequently asserted that as the foundation stone of our work. There is no other continent on which forestry begins to be important in the same sense as on this continent of ours. In the eastern part, timber protection stands first; in the west, in the irrigable regions, water production; and everywhere the production of forage—these are most important uses of the forest. These three great objects are the three points toward which the forestry service is working. I will not detain you with a description of the organization, of the machinery with which we do our business, but having in mind protection as the first object of our service we take up all other things as subsidiary matters. Our first duty is to protect the forests, and we go about that in three different ways. We realize that with us, as with you, any

permanent protection must rest on one thing—the conviction of the people that it is worth while. The first thing, therefore, is the education of the public in these matters, and we undertake that with all the emphasis at our command, and it is because we have acted upon that principle that we have a united, and, what is more important, an effective public opinion to assist us in carrying out the necessary measures. And I have yet to find a single instance where the public opinion for rational forestry in the United States has been appealed to without getting a response. Secondly, we have a situation there which does not obtain so much with you. The great bulk of forest land is under private ownership. Now, the only way you can appeal with any effect to private owners of timber lands for improved forestry methods is to show them it is a good investment, that it is worth their while from a dollar and cent point of view. We have taken it up by sending trained men out to deal with the individual tract under a co-operative plan, by which the Government pays the salaries and the firms pay the expenses. As a result several millions of acres have come under forestry work, and we have all the time more applications for the assistance of trained foresters than the department is able to fill. The best illustration of the effect upon the lumbermen (for it is the way the lumbermen look upon this that its success depends) is this: that the lumbermen, through their association, the Lumber Manufacturers' Association, voted last spring to raise \$150,000 to endow a chair of lumbering in one of our forestry schools. When the interest of a commercial body is translated into money you may be perfectly sure it means something. So we are getting on with the lumbermen. Then a third point is in dealing with public lands, and we have laid this down as a fundamental proposition: that no public land, that will serve the public better under public ownership, shall be allowed to pass into private ownership (applause). That is a simple statement, but we are trying to carry it out by making forest reserves, and this has changed the whole aspect of forestry work in the United States. We have in the western states 150,000,000 acres of reserve land. We should have had, if we had taken this in time, perhaps 250,000,000, and the United States will have ultimately to pay out millions of dollars to buy back lands which it allowed to pass out of its hands, but which it had only to say the word to keep. You have this advantage, that where the worst damage has been done with us the harm is not yet done here, and if I should make any suggestion it is that you should make use of this enormous advantage for the lack of which we will have to pay out vast sums of money in the not distant future.

Working along these three lines we find that we are able gradually to bring about the application of the knowledge of the trained foresters to the handling of private and public forest lands. Some

years ago, when I first took up this work, there was a condition of things in Washington which was simply fatal to the progress of forestry. On one side was the Public Lands Office, controlling all public lands, including forests, with not a single trained forester in its employ; and on the other hand there was the Agricultural Department, employing nearly every trained forester in the United States, and with not a single acre of forest to look after. This was a situation which simply vetoed any idea of progress, because it is a difficult matter to set a forester at handling lands over which he has no control. I have tried it (laughter). Last April we got things together, got foresters over public lands, and considerable progress has been made. What does all this mean? It means just this, that the whole effort which now is engaging the attention of a fairly numerous body of trained foresters is directed to this—to the making and maintenance of prosperous homes. That is our basis; our forestry reserves are managed for that purpose. We do not want to grow trees on any land that can be used to grow children (laughter). Taking that conception of the matter we find that our forest policy merges immediately into our public lands policy and is one of the features of it. Now, the public lands policy of any nation in the making (as ours on both sides of the line are) lies at the bottom of nearly everything. Land hunger, the desire for land, is almost the strongest passion of the human mind, and the things men will do to get land are indescribable in polite language. (Laughter.) Men who are perfectly respectable and honorable in every other walk of life will steal public lands. (Renewed laughter.) I say this not as a confession, not because I have been stealing public lands myself, but because people have been stealing public lands in the United States, and some in high positions have been sent to jail for it. (Applause.) That does not mean that there has been any sudden outburst of corruption in regard to public lands, but the reverse, for there has been an awakening in regard to matters that have been taking place for many years. There is no way in which bad administration can make such a bad impression upon the morals of a nation as the bad administration of public lands. What happened with us was this. Our land laws were framed to suit certain states, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and when these were filled up, the people kept moving on westward, and instead of changing the laws to suit the new conditions we tried to deal with them under the old laws. And when the new wine was put into the old bottles, the bottles burst and the wine ran all over the place. What it meant was that when a man tried to get land under the new conditions and the old laws something had to be stretched, and generally it was the man's conscience. That meant that perjury in public lands matters grew to be a semi-respectable function, exercised over large portions of the public lands states, partly because of this land hunger, and partly because it was difficult for an honest man to get public land and tell the truth all the

way through. We are trying to remedy this evil, and one of the means adopted by our President was the creation of a Commission charged with the entire revision of public land laws and public land systems. I speak of this personally because for my sins I was made the secretary of it. (Laughter.) It is not, however, a jesting matter, for the effect of wrong public land laws is one of the most lasting that can come to any nation. What has happened to us will happen to you unless you move in time. What has happened with us is that interests have sprung up, controlling large blocks of land, so that they threaten a land monopoly; but that is a thing which, thanks to President Roosevelt, is not going to happen. (Prolonged applause.) If the forest policy is part of the public land policy, the public land policy is simply one phase of the way in which a nation deals with its problems; and I want to say in a word something of the attempt at reform along different lines which President Roosevelt is leading and which, thanks to his leadership, bids fair to be successful. It is not always easy to realize what the national house-keeping means to the individual and to the nation. Curiously enough, personal morality has always stood on a higher plane than business morality; business morality, as a rule, has stood higher than political morality, and the relations of nations are on a yet lower plane than any of the three. (Applause.) Take bodies of men, and the tendency in things of this kind is to level down instead of levelling up. National administration, therefore, means an immense deal in the way of setting standards in the nation's life. The president realized that and set himself to work gradually, for these are large problems to level up. He has been doing very much through a number of different commissions, as well as through the agitation for a "square deal" in every line of life. The president is standing more and more for a series of theorems, the fundamental one of which is that every man should have no less than a "square deal"—and no more. The "square deal" in forest work translates itself into this: That every acre should be put to the use that will contribute most to the well-being of the nation. (Applause.) I have heard it said by a congressman: "There is 20 per cent. of such a district in forest reserve. What a shame!" I say it makes no difference whether it is 20 per cent. or 90 per cent., if the lands can be best used in that form, but if there is an acre which can be used in any better way than by all means let us take it out of the forest reserve. (Applause.) This policy of the president has translated itself into a number of commissions of reform. One of these is the Public Lands Commission, of which I spoke, and which is making good progress. Another is a commission to organize all government scientific work, which gradually is going to reorganize the somewhat chaotic state of the government's scientific activity, for it is true of every government that I know of that its scientific work has grown up without provision and simply because things were put here and there for convenience. Finally, there is a

commission on the business methods of the government, based on this theory: That it is not enough for a great government to do business as well as a large business institution, but that it ought to do it better. and we, if we are fortunate, will work that out, to see that the business methods of the United States will correspond in integrity and effectiveness with the size of the country and the importance of the work to be done. (Applause.) All this means simply that the attempt is now being made in the United States in forestry, in public lands, in relation to the railways and the trusts and many other matters, not merely to give every man a "square deal," which is the foundation, but to use the best intelligence of the nation for the good of the nation.

Gentlemen, there are so many things to be said about this matter that I shy off,—(laughter)—but if there is any one message I have for you it is to save yourselves in regard to forestry, now you have the chance, the uphill fight we have had because we did not take hold in time to lay our foundations straight. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

(January 15th, 1906.)

Canadian Transportation.

BY CHAS. M. HAYS.

Mr. C. M. Hays, on rising to address the club, was greeted with enthusiastic applause, which was frequently renewed during the progress of his remarks. He said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—In my uncertainty as to just what I was expected to say to you to-night you can imagine my perturbation when one of the friends with whom I had been associated to-day said: "I think the only position. I think a little less than a year ago I met the members of a somewhat similar club in Montreal, and I had gone to the trouble of having a map prepared, which was hung on the wall, by which everyone could see just exactly where the road was going, and could make his own selection of town sites and terminals to suit himself. Shortly after the map had been displayed it had disappeared. Since then I have lost all track of the question, and I am sorry that Toronto—this is the only instance I have ever known it to occur—Toronto comes in just a little late on the town site proposition. I was beginning to feel very much at a loss as to what I should do when I was told that your habit at these

club meetings was to have a short speech, and that the speaker was never contradicted; that he could make his own statement without any fear of challenge, and that you generally broke up at a very reasonable hour in the evening.

I feel quite sure that, while in the large and representative gathering I have the pleasure of addressing to-night, there are many of you who are what might be termed specialists in banking, in insurance, in mercantile, and in all the many and varied pursuits that go to make up a great and prosperous city like Toronto, there are very few of you who are not prepared to tell me how I can run a railroad, and give me points in directions that have hitherto escaped my notice.

Gentlemen, this is not said in a satirical vein, nor in a complaining humor; it is merely a statement illustrative of that peculiarity of the transportation business that distinguishes it from almost every other business that we know of. So largely does the question of the cost of transportation enter into your cost of living, of where you shall live, and what you shall wear, that it is not strange there is scarcely an individual in business life but what has his own views and ideas to express in regard to the proper conduct and operation of a railway. I am not, therefore, surprised to meet from time to time—and sometimes several times a day—people who give me suggestions that are intended to assist—and they do at times assist—in the conduct of the property over which I have the honor to preside.

There are usually but two directions in which complaints as to railways exist. These are: First, a complaint as to the character of the facilities afforded—you want more trains, faster trains, more sidings, more box cars, better stations. The second complaint is as to the rates in Canada; they are alleged to be excessive, discriminatory, and to result in building up one community against another. Unfortunately, for the unhappy manager, to attempt to reconcile these two complaints is but to cut short what would otherwise be a happy life.

The first of these complaints means, as you may readily understand, more expenditure in every direction; it means that either out of the daily receipts from the operation of the road, or out of the funds obtained by selling the securities of the road, this expenditure shall be met, and thereupon there shall be an effort made to earn the annual charges.

The second complaint invariably takes a form which is the very opposite—a decrease in the revenues and a cutting down of the very means requisite to meet the demands of the first complaint. Now, as to the first—the service rendered and the facilities afforded.

I think I speak for the great majority of the railway managers, officials, and employees also, when I say that if you want to get “next” to the railroad man, if you want to warm the cockles of his heart, and make him think he is a great railway man, just tell him how much

better his road is doing what they are attempting to do than the competing road is. Just tell him how much faster his trains are, how absolutely certain they are as to their regularity of arrival at the terminals, with what luxurious comforts you travel in his sleeping cars, how commodious and ornamental to the city the station at which his trains stop is. Therefore, you have in that very self-pride, that pride of emulation, the strongest incentive there can be to the railway management to do the best they can for you; that even with all the criticism railways have to meet, and that sometimes they are entitled to—I have known instances in connection even with the road over which I preside where there was really fair reason for criticism. Even, gentlemen, with all that can be said in that direction, I can yet assert—and assert it positively without fear of contradiction—that in a life of a little less than seventy-five years the railway companies of this continent have given you the cheapest transportation in the world.

No other country enjoys anywhere near what the citizens of this country are getting in the way of transportation and its cost. It means that you are paying about one-third what you would pay if you lived in England, the rate, from such statistics as we can get, being approximately two cents and two mills per ton mile. You are paying a little less than one-half what you would pay if you lived in Germany, the rate there being one cent and five mills per ton mile. You are paying about one-half what you would pay if you lived in France, the rate there being 1.4 cents per ton mile, while your average rate is—and I say it with regret as a railway manager—seven mills. So that in the matter of cost there can be no real good complaint made.

Now, as to the character of the service. We, once in a while, all of us, railway managers as well as other people, think they have the credit of being about as heartless people as there are living. We are all of us shocked at those terrible accidents that occur on the best regulated railways from time to time, and at the loss of life and injury resulting therefrom. The impression goes abroad that the railways are reckless, that there is not proper precaution taken, and that there is unnecessary loss of life and injury to persons and property. As a matter of fact, the records of the insurance companies—and I do not know of any better records than the records of the accident insurance companies in these matters—show that of the total number of accidents occurring, 28 per cent. occur to pedestrians, 18 per cent. occur to people at their own homes—in houses—, another 18 per cent. occurs in connection with the use of vehicles and animals; 5 per cent. only occurs in connection with the operation of the railways. I think you have in that a very good argument as to the care and prudence which is shown in the operation of the railroads. If you but think one moment of the numberless trains that leave all the principal terminals of the railroads throughout the country every morning and every evening,

and sometimes in the middle of the day, and go safely without accident and without harm to their destinations; think of that number of trains and then multiply it by the number of employees in connection with the road over which they pass, any one of whom might cause an accident to that train, from the humblest employee up to the engineer and fireman and conductor and trainmen handling that train, and when you think of the numbers and the possibilities, the risk is very small and quite justifies a comparison that railway men sometimes are fond of making, that more people are killed every year from falling out of windows than are killed by railway trains. That is said to be also a fact established by the records of the companies which keep a record of such events.

Now, the only requisite for you to show or give for keeping all these additional facilities that are so desired and are so requisite for your daily comfort and happiness, is that the different railway companies can show that they can earn the interest on the money invested. I have had to-day with the City of Toronto the question of the abolition of grade crossings. I betray no confidence when I say that the Grand Trunk is quite prepared and would like very much to abolish the grade crossings in Toronto, but it cannot do it all; nor is there, from the Grand Trunk standpoint, any reason why it should do it all, but it stands ready to do its fair share of it. The abolition of grade crossings contributes nothing to the earning capacity of the Grand Trunk, but it is an earnest of the desire of the officers of the road to do away with those accidents that occur, and will always occur, notwithstanding every precaution, where the highway crosses the railway on the level.

We are trying, with some small degree of success, to reach a point where we may eventually give you a new union station for Toronto. There are reasons, gentlemen, which I do not feel at liberty to state, why we have not yet got possession of all the property that we should have to commence the erection of that station. But I think I may say that these reasons are not because we have been unwilling to pay what the property is worth, based on the value of surrounding property. Of course, railway companies have that most estimable privilege, the right of eminent domain, which practically means that they may pay three or four times what anyone else would pay.

Now, as to the question of rates. That, I assume, comes nearer to touching you than any other point I can mention. I know of no country, and I think there is no country in the world that is so wonderfully endowed with those means of regulating rates, which it is possible the railways might forego if they could—that is, the waterways. Stretching as they do, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence for into the interior of Canada, for seven months out of the year they fix the rates and the maximum at which the railway companies can do busi-

ness. For the remaining five months they also exercise a salutary effect in providing that we should, if we want to do business at all, make such rates as will prevent the traffic being held until the waterways open up again. The community is, therefore, amply protected in the matter of railway rates. But, aside from this protection, the railway manager has very little to say about the question of rates. The railways are in a position where not only by reason of the waterways, as I have mentioned, but by reason of the struggle for competitive positions between the cities that they serve, they are always in a position of uncertainty as to their rates. The struggle for commercial supremacy, the question as to what port shall handle the largest amount of the export traffic, and the question of the equalization and adjustment of these rates through those ports keep them on a constantly descending scale. The struggle between the importer and the manufacturer who is bringing in his raw material and the same industrial enterprise shipping out their manufactured goods in another direction, and the constantly recurring question as to the difference that shall exist between the raw and manufactured material keeps the rates in a constant state of adjustment, and they always adjust downward, at least that has been my experience.

In the United States, and I mention the United States because of the fact that what the railroads do in the United States is constantly brought forth as argument why the railways in Canada should do the same thing, this question of the regulation of railways assumed a very active phase some 25 years ago, and resulted, as you all may know who follow such things, in the passage of the Interstate Commerce Law, which took effect in 1887. This law was the result of enquiries held by commissions from the House of representatives and from the Senate, and from the eliciting of testimony from shippers all over the country, and from the railroad men themselves. This law had for its object:—First, the abolition of the Pool, which you understand to be the dividing between the railways, the apportioning, of the rates on that particular business. Second, the regulation of the short haul; that is that the rate on the short haul should not exceed the rate on the long haul when the short was included in the long haul. Third, the abolition of rebates. Various penalties were provided in this bill. That law has been in effect since 1887, but the number of legal decisions on appeal from the decisions of this Interstate Commission to the United States Supreme Court has been no greater in favor of the Commission than you could count on the fingers of both your hands. No more conclusive evidence could be given that the railroads were attempting to do business on a fair rate. Every state in the United States almost has its own State Commission regulating rates within the state, while the Interstate Commission regulates the rates on traffic passing through the state. These State Commission, some of them, started

in very viciously towards the railroads. The majority of them found that their complaints came largely in the direction of facilities lacking and desired, not on the question of the rates themselves. So that there is very little evidence existing that the railways purposely exact an exorbitant rate. It is our desire, our intention, to do what we can to build up the traffic of the country. But even with all this legislation what do we find? In the United States for the past year the question of the regulation of rates has broken out more violently than ever. President Roosevelt himself has taken a hand in, and it is proposed to bring down a bill which will give this Interstate Commerce Commission the right to fix the rate itself, as our Canadian Railway Commission has under the Act of 1903. And so the struggle as to the rates, what it shall be, and whether it is excessive or reasonable, goes on; the same thing as the change from day to night. It changes with the growth of the country, it changes with the changing conditions, and it will always be so.

The only question I would ask you to consider, that I would commend to you to-night is this:—Are the regulations, are the conditions, and the restrictions that are found necessary in connection with the operation of 220,000 miles of railway, serving a community of 80,000,000 people, the rates and regulations that you think should apply to 20,000 miles of railway, serving a population of 6,000,000. I ask you to consider this, because admitting there may be irregularities, there may be discriminations, there may be errors to be corrected that have grown up with this wonderful development, have we reached that point yet here when we are just on the threshold of what is to be, I believe, and what we all hope will be, the greatest railway development that Canada has ever had. This question will loom up with you, gentlemen, larger and larger, every day, and I am only going to ask you to give your thoughtful consideration to these matters and to cultivate, if you do not have it already, and I have no reason for thinking you have not, a friendly attitude towards the railways, believing that if they prosper you will prosper also. Regulate them just as you regulate any other business, but do not discriminate against the railways in your regulations, simply because they are railways, and because they come into daily contact with a greater number of people than does any other commercial undertaking.

Now, so much for the rates. I expect you would hardly think I would go without making at least one or two suggestions in connection with the development of the transportation facilities. To-day we talk more about the wonderful wheat fields of the Canadian Northwest than we do about anything else, and it would seem that in that direction, and in connection with that development, will come our greatest railway growth and the greatest commercial growth of the country. If I were to make any suggestions at all as to how that development

could be aided, I would say it would come in connection with the development jointly of your railways and waterways, and when I say waterways I do not mean the canals, although I am no enemy of the canals. The canals have passed their most useful days; they have done good work for the country, and will always do good work for the country. But the time when they will serve any other purpose than the movement of large bulk freight is past, and any expenditure that you can make on them that will give you any adequate return will be so long in being consummated, and take so many years to get your money back, that, as a business man, and as a business proposition, I would suggest that the money be spent first where you will get the quickest return, so that, when I say waterways, I mean those great waterways that never need deepening, that never need widening; I mean your wonderful lake system, connecting this part of Canada with Western Canada. Enlarge the ports. Give us at Fort William and Port Arthur the same adequate and extensive facilities that exist at Duluth; give us at Lake Huron and Georgian Bay ports the same extensive and adequate facilities that exist at Buffalo, Erie, and Cleveland. Let the railways furnish the tracks to those ports—and they will need double tracks to take away the traffic that will eventually come through those ports. If the Government must spend money on the waterways, let it be in the direction I have indicated. And I go further. Let it extend the ocean ports as well, let them all be nationalized, they are all a part of Canada, and they all afford an open way for the exportation of Canadian products. Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, St. John.

With me it is not a question of the largest. We take them first in order as they come. But I am quite prepared to repeat what I said two years ago, that when the Canadian Northwest has reached its greatest development it will no longer be a question of which port; it will be a question of what port, because the facilities will be so utilized, they will be so occupied, that it will be necessary to hold the traffic out of those ports to dispose of it, and hold it for days, unless some early action is taken in the development of these ports.

Now, I have heard it said, that Mr. Hays favored the lakes, and had no use for the line to the north of Lake Superior. Gentlemen, that would be a very great mistake from a business standpoint, if I ever for a moment had such an idea. The waterways will always command the large percentage of grain during the season of navigation, but just as there has been from Chicago by rail, so still will there be from the Canadian Northwest an ever-increasing volume of traffic going by rail after the lakes are closed, and what you need to get that traffic by rail is easy grades and directness of line. Then, if there is any Province interested in that portion of the undertaking it is Ontario, which for years must be the manufacturing centre of Canada for all that rapidly-growing territory of the Northwest in the two new pro-

vinces, where labor will be too expensive to start manufactures, and where you must ship the furniture, the reapers, the harvesters, thrashers, boots and shoes, dry goods and everything that the settler needs. Ontario must have not only water connection, but the best of rail connection the year round to the Canadian Northwest.

Having said these things, I feel, gentlemen, perfectly safe in leaving the future in your hands, and simply again thanking you for this large attendance and for your earnest attention, and saying to you that I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity to-night of meeting so many of you. I wish it could occur oftener. I wish we could oftener sit around and discuss this question of railways, I believe it would be to our mutual advantage. But I want to say to you that so far as lies within my power, remembering all the time my duties to the owners of the property, because—and I must say right on that point that not ten per cent. of all these millions of dollars that are going to be spent and have been spent on railways in this country and the Northwest are obtained here in Canada—it all coming from abroad—it would be most unwise to do anything either in the operation of the railways or in the attitude of the people towards these railways to discourage the easy obtaining of this money for the development of this great empire in the Northwest—(applause). To-day Canada is popular, more so than she ever was in her history, in England. All you have to do to obtain all the money that is needed is to show them that the money is going to secure a fair return and that the property in which it is invested is going to be protected and treated fairly.

Gentlemen, I leave it with you to cultivate and assist in cultivating that sentiment. Thank you again, very much.

(January 29th, 1906.)

The Place and Power of Music.

BY CHAS. W. ALEXANDER.

In the absence of the President the chair was occupied by Vice-President Turnbull. At the chairman's table, in addition to the guest of the day, Mr. Alexander, there were present Messrs. Butler, Harkness and Davis of the Torrey-Alexander Mission, and Rev. Melvin Trotter, of Grand Rapids, Mich., and Rev. T. B. Hyde, of the Northern Congregational Church and Secretary Pratt, of the Central Y.M.C.A., Toronto.

Mr. Butler first sang the "Pilot Song," in which he was accompanied on the piano by Mr. Harkness, the composer of the music. Mr. Butler was heartily applauded at the close.

In introducing the guest of the day Mr. Turnbull said: During the past four years, throughout the English-speaking world, our guest, Mr. Alexander, has been demonstrating to a critical public the power and influence of song upon vast audiences. His leadership of the song service in connection with the Torrey-Alexander Mission in Massey Hall during this month can only be described as magnificent. He is an expert on the subject in which he is going to address us, and I have therefore much pleasure in introducing Mr. Alexander, who will speak to us on "The Place and Power of Music."

Mr. Alexander in rising to speak was loudly applauded. He said: I have asked your chairman to allow me to stand on a chair, for I want to see you all. I heard of a man who got on one of the old fashioned stage coaches one day and he had but one solitary occupant for a companion. It was a cold, drizzly day on the outside and he started in to talk to this old man for company, but all he could get out of him was "yes" and "no." He tried every subject that he knew anything about with the same result, and finally he sank back exhausted in the corner of the coach. Then the old man, his companion said, "Suppose you try me on leather," and the old man started in and the traveller said he never heard a man talk on leather the way that man did. Well, you don't have to ask me. I am right in the kind of work I love, and you have asked me about the kind of work I know best. I had my subject chosen before I knew what the title was going to be, but as Artemus Ward said about the subject of one of his lectures, "The most remarkable thing about the subject is that it has nothing to do with the lecture."

Mr. Alexander here changed his situation to a chair at the end of the hall so that he could get rid of a disturbing echo and continued: Away down in the hills of Tennessee, I was born in a log house, and one of the first things I ever remember was hearing the old gospel songs sung without any instrument, and I'm mighty glad of that recollection. They sent me to school with Webster's blue-backed spelling book and a little New Testament to learn out of. After I got away from that school and heard that other boys in the towns were taught from handsome books with pictures, I felt I had been badly used, I thought my education had been neglected because I had to use the New Testament for reader, but later I found out I was mistaken; for somehow the truths of that little testament got into me, got hold of me, and I have not had cause to regret that.

My father used to teach me to sing Sankey's hymns, without any instrument, for we could not afford it, and later I went to country singing schools and learned to sing there without an instrument too. I have always been glad of that because it don't matter how Harkness plays, I can always keep on singing.

Mr. Harkness—Don't mind him, he doesn't mean any harm. (Laughter.)

Mr. Alexander continued: When I saw the worth of a human soul, and wanted to get men started in the direction I thought was right, I began to look around to see how I could help the most men in the strongest way. Somehow I did not think there was much preacher in me and I have never thought so since, but I wanted something to start men's hearts going and I found that when you got a sermon set to music it was like a sermon on wheels. It was like going down hill. I haven't much voice for singing, but there is this about it, they can always hear me no matter how big the building is. I thought I have got to do something to reach the people and I turned about and taught them to sing. I never would have done it if I had had a fine voice like Butler, because I would have been always thinking of saving my voice.

When we got to London in Albert Hall that was the greatest work of music I ever heard of. When you get London started, and get its people talking and singing, you have got something going. There was the Glory Song. I believe there is scarcely anybody in London that has not heard it. One night some men were looking up men for a free breakfast, looking for them in the park, on the benches, under arches, wherever they could find them, to take them down to a free breakfast. It was two or three o'clock in the morning, and when these workers had a crowd of men all around them one said, "Jim, let's have an open air meeting right here." He said, "What can we do?" "Start the Glory Song" said the other, and they did, and every one of those tramps and bums sang it. This was how they knew it. It was printed three times in the *Daily Mail* with the words and music and everyone had a *Daily Mail*, however they got it. I don't suppose they were ever in a mission, and they would not go to Albert Hall. On the other hand, to see how titled people would listen to that music was wonderful to me. I find people like music if it's got point, if it's going somewhere, and when men who are not Christians come to our meetings I find that the stronger a song is the more it will be called for. That Pilot Song has been called for more than any other by men who were not Christians. There is a way to get hold of men, and it is through the power of music. It was a great discovery for me when I found out that busy men like you, who do not sing, who do not take time to sing, though you ought to—that when you get together you are just like a crowd of boys and like to sing just as well. I used to wonder at this, but I do not now, because down in every man's heart there is a love of song, and even the men who have been against us, like these Gospel Songs. I could tell you wonderful stories of how one of these simple songs, with a hook in it, will follow a man day and night and get hold of him, so that he cannot get away from it. Night before last I heard a crowd of young fellows going home singing the Pilot Song. They had been to hear Butler.

The power of song! Why, I can go to a crowded meeting and put in ten or eleven hours and feel fresh. The music is different than it used

to be, because it has point to it. I feel when I sing that it is going to get hold of some men and change their homes. That's what you men want to see done. I know of homes right here in this town that have been changed. Some of you say you don't believe in these methods, but there's a fact you cannot get away from, and in a little while I will ask Mr. Trotter to illustrate it. I have seen people come to Albert Hall at two o'clock and stay till six o'clock. Dr. Torrey would take up three-quarters of an hour, but all the rest of the time men and women in the galleries and boxes and from the floor of the hall would be calling for some simple gospel songs, and then we would go back after supper and sing them till nearly eleven o'clock. I have never seen any kind of music that would get hold of people like this. Men just as smart looking as you are would stay there and ask for these songs. I have a stack of letters that high (indicating it with his hands) from all classes of people telling me that these songs just suited their case.

* One time in Chicago I was teaching a choir of little girls to sing, little street girls, whose clothes were scarcely good enough for them to come to Church, and we had them away up in the back of the gallery in Mr. Moody's Church. It was a time of great financial disaster in Chicago, and a business man who had lost all his money was walking along the street wondering what would become of him, when he heard the singing from the Church, "God Will Take Care of You." Nothing had touched him like those little voices. He came into the church and heard them sing it again. He had not thought of that, but he said to himself, of course God will take care of me and went away happy. I like to fool with a thing like that. Long ago I found that when I got people worked up by a concert or something of that kind that it stopped there. It would be all exhausted and to no purpose. I would ask myself, Where did I take those people, where did I land them anyway. There must be something more in this world than this. Now yesterday I was at work from 10 o'clock in the morning until nearly midnight, and when I got home I was satisfied that I had been doing the best work in the world.

Musicians come to me and ask me why I don't use other kinds of music. If oratorio would have the same effect in the hearts of men like you, I would have oratorio every time I got a chance. But you fellows know if you try a thing and it doesn't do the business you quit it, don't you? I get the songs that do the business, and if I find one that won't I cut it right out. There is a song, "Tell Mother I'll be There," which I hesitated a long time before I used. I have been criticised all over the world for using it, but you would not say so if you knew what it has done and what testimonies and letters I have received. A friend cut it out of a scrapbook and sent it to me and I carried it for a year before I used it. One night there was a crowd of railway men and I said to myself, 'I wonder what would get under the vests of those men,' I used it and when it was over a great, big, burly, engine driver came up to me and said,

"Mr. Alexander, I promised my mother on her death bed that I would become a Christian, but instead of that I have been going to the devil faster than ever. Preaching never touched me, but that little song did, and if you'll sing it to-morrow night I'll bring the boys." He did bring them for many nights and he used to say, "Don't forget to sing 'Tell Mother'." I used that song every time and I have used it many times since. Newspapers have used half a column at a time to say what doggerel it was, but at the end they had to admit the effect it had on those men. Argue against everything but a fact.

There's Harkness, a Bendigo boy, still under the British flag, though a long way from home. He wrote some of those songs, that Pilot Song for instance, and I would rather have written that song than anything else I know of. It's like a snowball, it keeps on growing as it rolls along. I am going to give each of you a copy as you go out. If you don't want it yourself put it in a letter and send it to your aunt or your sweetheart or somebody. You have all heard of the man who said, "Let me make the songs of a nation and I care not who makes the laws," and the point I make to-day is the power of gospel music over every other kind of music, in making-over families. It has a power that no other music has. Now there's Trotter. Shall we have him tell about a song he heard. (Cries of "Yes," "Yes.")

Mr. Trotter thus called upon mounted his chair and said: One night in the Pacific Garden Mission in Chicago there was a lot of bums gathered together. Hardly any of them had clothes enough on to flag a handcar. They were sitting in the back part of the old mission, a place with about 500 chairs and in the front part there were some saved bums whose clothes were slightly better. They always use the songs that catch. Up at the front they sing, "Throw Out the Life Line," but down at the back the bums sing, "T'row Out the Life Line." They don't use very much tune to it, but it's a song those people like to hear. The Pacific Garden Mission stands at Custom House Place and Van Buren Street. That's a pretty tough place, but not so bad now as it was at the time I am speaking of. It is on the edge of the tough district which as we say is bounded on the north by Van Buren Street, on the south by Twelfth Steet, on the west by the river, and on the east by the Lake and Dr. Dowie. The lake's there yet, but Dr. Dowie's gone. One night as I have said they were singing that old song. It was not very good music, but Mr. Monroe, the big-hearted Irishman in charge of the Mission, was up on the platform waving his hands and trying to keep them together as well as he could. On the other side of the street an old fellow was standing in a doorway to keep out of the wind, thinking about his wife that he had promised to love and protect, and of his baby and home which he had shamefully neglected, and he decided that there was nothing else to do but to take his life. That winter many people in Chicago were taking what they called the "Viaduct Route." The

railway was filling in a viaduct along the water front. It is now a fine property, but the railway stole it from the Government and it was a word in all the beer houses "to take the viaduct route." I think 2,300 men took that route that winter and threw themselves into the lake—men who did not have a place to turn, college men, men that had got into trouble at home and had tried to lose themselves out in the west and had failed. This man under the doorway started up Van Buren Street for the viaduct with his heart broke. No underclothing, no socks on his feet, hardly any boots, and his clothing it was simply terrible. You cannot picture a human being so miserable, so bad in appearance in every way as he was. Some other bums going into the mission left the door open a little way and he caught the words of the song, "Throw Out the Life Line." Now outside of all missions, those that are good ones, there are "boosters," and when he stopped to listen to the song they boosted him in. It was a fatal stop for the devil when he stopped to listen. He was very tired and after the singing he went to sleep. When the preaching was over they began to sing again and, in his half drunken way on the verge of delirium tremens, he tried to join in. Then there were testimonies and he saw other men who had been bums like himself testify how Christ had saved them from the power of sin. And that night that poor, nervous, trembling bum went forward and gave his heart to God and Jesus saved him and has kept him ever since. That was nine years ago last Friday night, and that man was me.

Mr. Alexander said: My work at this meeting is over. I have a warm place in my heart for every man in this room. I thank you for allowing my friend Trotter to talk. If you ever saw a monument of God's power and love that's the man. Don't forget us. We love you more than ever. We are going to pray for you. Good-bye.

By request the meeting was closed by the singing of the "Glory Song," Mr. Butler singing the last verse and the audience joining in the chorus.

(February 5th, 1906.)

The Work at Tuskegee.

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

Mr. Booker T. Washington, President of the Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama, addressed the Club as follows:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—I thank you most sincerely for your kindly greeting and for your generous welcome into your city. I find myself somewhat puzzled, however, in one direction. I recall that it was only four or five years ago when I had the

privilege of addressing this Club, and to-night I am not quite sure that I have any new message other than the one which I delivered on that occasion. I do not like, however, to repeat in whole or even in part my address. Sir, not very long ago I got a lesson in my own county in Alabama in the direction of repeating one's address which I said that I would try to put into practice wherever I might go in the future. A little church composed of a number of colored people not very far from our institution had got into some difficulty—churches there get into trouble as I suppose they do here once in a while—and the minister came to me on several occasions and related his troubles, and I soon found out, as the old man would talk to me, that the trouble was in the direction of the congregation not paying his salary, either promptly or generously, and after he had come to me on so many different occasions I finally told him that I should go out into his county and try to assist in straightening out the difficulty as much as I could. And so I went out there, and he called his little congregation together, and I began speaking to them as earnestly as I possibly could, telling them that it was their duty to pay their pastor's salary as promptly as possible, and to be as generous as possible in the use of their purses, and I thought when I looked over the congregation that I had made a pretty good impression. But I noticed one fellow back in the corner on whom my words seemed to have no effect. He kept his hat between my eyes and his during the greater part of the time, and as I would talk over in his direction once in a while he would duck his eyes behind his hat and mumble out: "We're not going to pay him any more salary this year."

Finally, I said, "Now, brother, I wish you would be perfectly frank and tell me what the trouble is." He says, "We have paid him for them same sermons last year."

Now, before I am through with my remarks I am very much afraid that you will find the same fault with me. When I was a slave boy, living upon a plantation in the State of Virginia, I remember that once a week the children upon our plantation were made to feel very happy, and that was on Sunday morning when each boy and girl was given a tablespoonful of molasses. And I shall never forget how, when it came my turn to receive my portion of molasses, that I used to take my little tin plate and stand up in front of the individual whose duty it was to distribute the food, and after my portion of molasses had been poured upon my plate I would tip it to the right and then I would tip it to the left, and then forward and then toward me, in order to spread the molasses over the entire surface of the plate; in a word, in that way to produce more molasses. And I do not believe there is a mathematician in this room to-night who would be able to convince me that there is not more molasses in a plate when it covers the entire surface than when confined in one spot—that is, it lasts a great deal longer at any rate.

Now, to-night, while I am going to repeat—to cover perhaps a good deal of surface in my remarks, I wish to assure you in the beginning that I am going to try to condense my remarks within a short length of time, as I take it that your time is valuable. (Voices, "Not to-night," and "Take all the time you want.") Speaking of the value of time, I am reminded of another experience in Alabama. Now, this story has no application whatever. (Laughter.) I am simply telling it for the sake of consuming time while I am thinking of something to say. Now, in my own country in Alabama there was an old colored farmer out early one morning feeding his pigs, and while he was engaged in doing so, an agricultural professor—that is, a professor in the agricultural college, which was near by—went by on the road, and he saw the old colored farmer feeding his pigs. He would put his hands into the bag and take out a few grains of shelled corn and scatter them out to his pigs. And the professor, hoping to be of some service, said to him, "now, uncle Joe, did you ever think to wet that corn before feeding it to your pigs?" The old man said, "No, boss, I never thought of that." The professor said, "Uncle Joe, you will find if you will wet that corn that it will digest in half the time." The old man said, "Well, boss, will you tell one how much a pig's time is worth." Now, I said to you a moment ago that I am going to detain you a short time only, because your time is very valuable.

We have in this country, and on this continent a great many unsettled and perplexing questions and problems. And among them there is what is known as the race problem—more directly, the negro problem—in the southern part of the United States. And it is not only a national problem; greater than that, it is a continental problem. So that you in this country have an interest in its proper, wise and just solution, the same as the people living in the United States. For no one set of people on this continent can be down without every section of our people living upon this continent, whether in the United States or in Canada, feeling the effect of the life of those people who are down. (Hear, Hear.) We have in the United States about 10,000,000 of black people—a number larger than the entire population of the Dominion of Canada. We have a number which is nearly equal to the entire population of the Republic of Mexico. In the United States we have a population of black people that is larger than the combined population of Holland and Belgium.

Now, there have been very serious suggestions and very serious discussions going on in all parts of this continent concerning the final and proper and just solution of what is termed this racial problem. It has been suggested over and over again that the proper solution would consist in putting the negro aside somewhere upon a vacant island somewhere in a vacant territory where he could grow to be a separate and

distinct race or nation by himself. In my opinion, that will constitute no solution. In the first place you would have to build a wall about any territory to keep the black men in it, and you would have to build three or four walls about it to keep the white men out of it. And, my friends, you know that every problem that has grown out of the presence and influence of the black man has been created by reason of the white man's forcing the black man into his presence, as is illustrated in the case of American slavery, or by reason of the fact that the white man has forced himself into the presence of the black man, as is illustrated in the conditions existing in South Africa to-day. So that, you cannot keep the two races apart. The white man will go to the black man or he will compel the black man to come to him. Wherever there is the hope or the chance of gain by reason of contact you will find that the two races come together. So that, in my opinion, all solutions that have their ultimate aim in separating the races physically are ideal and visionary. And, so far as I can discern the ambitions, so far as I can discern the activities of my race, in my opinion the race has made up its mind definitely, permanently, that it is going to remain where it is, a part of the citizenship of the United States, mainly in the southern States, and the one vital, practical and pressing question is, "since they are going to remain a permanent part of our citizenship, shall they be among the worst citizens, or shall they be among the best?"

In 1881, when I had finished my course of training at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, I went into the State of Alabama, into what is known as "the black belt" of that State; that is, into the midst of a section of our country where my race, in some of those counties, outnumber the white race as high as six, eight and even ten to one; in some of those counties the colored people outnumber the whites by fifteen and eighteen to one. It was in that section of the country that I went in 1881 from Virginia and resolved to contribute my mite to the uplifting of my people. I went near the little town of Tuskegee, Alabama, and opened what is known as the Tuskegee Normal and Technical Institute. It was started at that time with one teacher and thirty students in a little shanty. And since then it has grown until at the present time we have there 1,500 men and women who have come to us this year from 36 States and from seven foreign countries. In all of our departments, industrial, academic, moral and religious, we have 156 instructors and teachers of various capacities. From that little shanty the institution has gradually grown in property until our trustees own and control at the present time 2,300 acres of land, and upon these acres, counting large and small, there are 86 buildings of various characters, used for residential purposes, for class-rooms, and industrial teaching, and I think I may safely say that this property in buildings and in personal holdings is valued at quite \$850,000. And if I add to that our endowment fund, which is now \$1,200,000, I am safe in saying that the entire

property owned and controlled by our trustees is over \$2,000,000. The annual expense of carrying on this work is about \$190,000.

Now, we have not only emphasized industrial education, but academic, moral and religious training in as thorough manner as we possibly could. But from the first, at Tuskegee, I have placed the principal emphasis upon agricultural, mechanical and domestic training. Not because we did not fully appreciate the fact that our race needs men thoroughly trained in colleges, in universities, for professional life, but we believe at the same time it needs a large number thoroughly grounded in these fundamental industries which in a large degree constitute the foundation for the civilization and the prosperity of any race of people. Now, you can easily understand that it was not an easy task to get the race to appreciate and to understand the idea of industrial education. At Tuskegee, as well as the Hampton Institute where I was educated, we began emphasizing industrial education, for the reason, in the first place, that we were dealing with a race that had no necessity of laboring before it came to America, and after it was brought to America, for 250 years, it was forced to labor under circumstances that were calculated to do anything but give that race a love for labor with the hands. For 250 years it saw daily the object lesson of one race escaping labor and the other race forced to labor; hence logically it decided that if labor was a good thing to escape from for one race, it was a good thing for the other race to escape, and naturally it came into freedom with the idea that we are through with laboring with the hands. And it was very important, fundamentally important, that just as soon as possible that some system of training be organized by which the race would be taught that so far from labor with the hands being degrading, that it was of the highest degree civilizing and Christianizing.

And so I remember in my early experience at Tuskegee that soon after the institution began to get somewhat organized and we began to let it be noised abroad that in addition to the book that we were going to teach agriculture, farming, dairying, fruit growing, machanics and all that, I remember parents objected, students objected, and for months and months there was a perfect flood of objections pouring in upon us. People said that they had been working for 250 years as slaves, and now that they were free they thought they ought to have an opportunity of resting. In answer to these objections we said to them: "It is true the race has been worked for 250 years in slavery, but the great lesson which it wants to learn in freedom is to work." We said to them there was a vast difference between being worked and working. We said to them that being worked meant degradation and working meant civilization. (Applause.) We said to them that every man who was worked was a slave and every man who works is a free man. And we have gone on from that day until this teaching the difference between being worked and working, until I am glad to say that the idea of indus-

trial education has become so popular among the entire race that at Tuskegee this year, as during the past half dozen years, we have been compelled to refuse admission to equally as many students as we were able to admit, so anxious were they to receive this technical education. What is true of that is true of the other large educational centres of the south where industrial as well as academic education has been emphasized. So that that battle has been fought and it has been won.

I have referred to the growth of the Tuskegee Institute within itself. We have not only built up an institution, but equally important and equally interesting to me, has been the growing up of a village, of a town about us, where we have our own streets, pretty well looked after by a village association. If you were to go through those streets I do not believe you would find any more pieces of waste paper than you would find in your streets here. We have our own waterworks plant, looked after by these students, our own electric lighting plant, operated by the students. We have our own postoffice, and we have a black postmaster. We have our own little bank. There is not a great deal of money in it, but it serves to teach the blessings of thrift, of economy, so necessary to our people; and within the past few months we have put in our own little railway. It is true that that railway is only a mile long, but it is just as wide as the New York Central. (Laughter.) In that respect at least we are equal, and you will agree with me that it is just as important for a road to have width as it is to have length.

Now, in all these directions, we have been trying to teach the lesson of self-help, the lesson of self-direction, the lesson of self-control. I have referred to our 86 buildings. Excepting four, these buildings are almost wholly the creation of these students themselves, guided and directed by our instructors. They have manufactured the bricks, have done the masonry, carpenter work, the plastering, painting, etc. Almost everything from the drawing of the plans to the putting in of the electric fixtures in connection with the completion of these large buildings is now done by our students under the direction of their teachers. While they were doing that kind of work they have been taught the best method of performing that kind of service.

When I went into Alabama I found that our people were living in one-roomed, broken-down log shanties; that one of their greatest needs was houses in which to live; and I said to my fellow-helpers that it seemed to me that if education was worth anything for a people in that condition it should teach people who have got houses to build houses, and I said, "We can begin with nothing better than to teach them to build better houses and then let them go out and carry that same lesson among their fellows wherever they go in the different parts of the south.

And we found the people largely without proper food upon which to live. If they were raising cotton they would sell that cotton for cash, and the money would soon be gone—that is, the portion of it that the

man who held the mortgage upon their crop did not get. And I found them living upon corn bread and bacon; they got that three times a day when they got anything. We said, these people need food, plenty of good, sensible, nourishing food, and I said again that we could teach that lesson in no better way than by beginning right here at Tuskegee on our farm, not by talking about it, but actually doing the thing, keeping the object lesson of a first-class farm, well-equipped farm, constantly before these men and women, so that with these ideas and with this practical knowledge they will go out and show their fellows how to produce first-class food and plenty of it on a good farm in every section of the south. And now we are cultivating by the labor of our students at Tuskegee over 900 acres of land every year, and these students are just as happy when it comes their turn to work on the farm, or in the harness shop or in the brick yard as when it comes their turn to take their place in the history class, the algebra class or in any department of academic education. (Applause.) And in a very large degree we are dove-tailing the one kind of education into the other kind of education.

I remember that when I was a boy in school that we were required to commit to memory long tables—yards, furlongs, rods and acres, and when I got through I did not know whether an acre was a piece of land half the size of this room or ten times the size. I had no tangible idea as to what it meant. The students now not only study about acres, but they go out and measure them. They make an estimate of the cost of planting an acre in a crop, of working it and of harvesting it and lay it before the teacher, or get up on a platform and recite it. It is all most interesting, because the student knows what he is talking about. In contrast with what used to be the dry bones of education, we feel that at Tuskegee in a large degree we have put living, tangible life and interest in the work.

But above all and beyond all we have taught the dignity and beauty of labor. We have taught the race that labor by the hands is no longer degrading, is no longer something to be escaped, but something to be loved and sought. But you ask—and that is the test of all this, and as I speak as I do, my friends, I wish you to understand that I thoroughly appreciate all the weak points in connection with my race. We are not perfect any more than yours is.

I have never been the one to withhold the telling of my race about their weak points and their difficulties. I have always spoken as frankly to them as I speak to you. The test of all this work at Hampton and Tuskegee and elsewhere is in what is being accomplished by the men and women who receive this training. To erect buildings, to multiply acres of land, to gather students, to teach industries and all that would mean something in the working out of this problem, but very little except

as we were able to imbue each one of these men and women with whom we come into contact that it is not to get that education to help himself merely, to enrich and surround himself with comforts and luxuries, but it is to get it and then give himself in the lifting up of somebody else. And to me the most beautiful and satisfactory thing in connection with this work at Tuskegee is to note the unselfish missionary spirit which our men and women are constantly exhibiting. And, my friends, the longer I live, the more experience I have in the world, the more I am convinced that after all the one thing that is worth living for and worth striving for is the opportunity of making some human being more happy and more useful, and when you take that privilege out of life there is not very much left. That is the spirit we are constantly seeking to put into these men and women at Tuskegee.

In all, counting those who have finished a full course, together with those who have finished a partial course to the extent that they are able to do reasonably efficient work, we have sent out into the world since this institution began quite 6,000 men and women. They are at work as farmers, as teachers in smaller institutes or in the public schools; they are at work as mechanics; they are at work in domestic life, a few are at work in professional life. You would be surprised to find the demand that there is for members of my race trained at this institution and others like it that comes not only from the colored people themselves, but the equally present demand that comes from among the southern white people that ask for them to take charge of farms, dairies and various industrial plants. I remember that a few summers ago we sent out some six hundred of our men to spend their vacation in various parts of the south. After they had gone I asked a professor to make an analysis to find out where and how these men were spending their vacation. It showed that two-thirds of these students were employed by southern white men. It showed further that they were receiving an average wage that was three times as high as the wage paid to the average unskilled ignorant black man of the south. That is better than words. One southern man himself says little. My friends, I judge people very largely by what they do, not what they talk. These men were average southern white men, and they said by their actions that the educated negro has an economic value that is three times as high as the value which he places upon the unskilled black man. And so long as this is true, my friends, I shall feel greatly encouraged concerning the future of my race.

Now, in the broader sense, these men and women go out where they find our people in debt; they find them mortgaging their crops in these plantations, cotton raising districts, living from hand to mouth. They go among them as teachers, as leaders, and they take them as if they were so many children and show them how to save their money, how to cease mortgaging their crops, how to stop spending their money for

whiskey and snuff and cheap jewellery. That is one of their sins. They like to spend money for jewellery. Some of this jewellery is manufactured in New England or somewhere up this way and sold for four or five dollars a bushel. (Laughter.) That is the kind that finds its way among my people on the plantations. I remember one time taking dinner on a plantation. As we sat down at the table there was only one fork on the table for the five of us to use, but in the other corner of that room there was an organ for which those people had paid \$60—one fork and a \$60 organ; how are you going to solve a problem like this? It is not impossible. In the first place, the colored man, with all his weak points, has this strong point; he wants education. He is different from any race of people in the same relative stage of civilization. He wants education. Wherever you open a school-house he is going to fill it, and you open another, he is going to fill that. He does not run from civilization.

I was out in Indian Territory some weeks ago. I looked all over the territory and I found about a dozen Indians. You say, where are the Indians gone? To the wilds. Wherever you whitewash a fence an Indian runs away. The black man is just the opposite. Wherever you whitewash a fence the black man is drawn to that whitewashed fence; and he is drawn to the schoolhouse. The black man wants education. And, again, a black man works. He is different in that respect. The problem created thus is different from the problem created in South Africa—I won't say created by him in South Africa; I will say created by you—different from the problems created by you in South Africa. There are some 5,000,000 black people in South Africa, and notwithstanding the presence of 5,000,000 of negroes they go elsewhere for labor, and their many industries refuse to prosper because the negroes do not work. They do not believe in it because they have never been brought into contact through the medium of the church, the Sunday school or the day school, with civilization in the way that the black man has in the south; they have not had their wants increased or multiplied as they have in the south by reason of education, where they want a bigger house, they want papers and they want an organ, an education for which the black man in the south is willing to work five or six days in the week, while the black man in South Africa, with his wants not increased, with his mind unawakened without any contact with the higher civilization can satisfy his wants by working one or two days in the week and wonders what in the dickens is the use working any longer. That is the difference between the problem in Africa and in the southern States. We have the black man there. I know, that lags around railroad stations, around bar-rooms and street corners, but you must not judge any race of people by its loafers. Suppose I was to come to Toronto and go into certain sections of your city in which certain dens of sin and misery exist and say that this represents the civiliza-

tion of Toronto. I judge by your higher types, not by your lowest. You should judge the negro by his best types and not by his lowest. That is the only proper way to judge of any race.

The black man works, but here is the trouble. By reason of his lack of education, his lack of experience, his lack of skill he does everything in the most costly manner, and he does not know how to use the results of his labor. Most of it gets away from him after the manner that I have tried to describe when he has made and sold his crop in the fall of the year. What Tuskegee is gradually doing is to place in every centre of negro population in just as many communities as possible a man who is wise enough, unselfish enough to lead or guide them in these directions. I remember that nine years ago I sent into one of these communities a young man just out of his course at Tuskegee. He went there and worked for three years; when he had not received as much as \$12 a month in teaching, while in another kind of service he could have earned three times as much. Still, because of his interest in the race and love for it he wanted to go and give his life in this manner. He taught them to build school-houses, taught them to save their money, and some of them began to buy land, put up houses with three or four rooms, and later to get out of debt. And, my friends, if you were to go into that community you would find well-equipped farm houses with three or four rooms, either painted or whitewashed, in fact a complete revolution has come about in the civilization of that community. I could stand here for an hour—but I am not going to do that—and give you example after example, showing how these brave, common-sense young men and women are going out from Tuskegee, going out from the score or more of other institutions in the south of similar character, and instilling among our people wherever they get the opportunity and wherever we can send them the spirit and intelligence which is enabling those communities to get upon their feet.

Now, the black race in the south, while an ignorant race, is not a degraded race. There is a great difference between dealing with a degradation and simple pure ignorance. It is a problem of ignorance that we have to deal with among my people, not a people who have been up and gotten down, but people who have never been up and are trying to get up.

But in the larger, more important sense, what has been accomplished through education? You have heard for the last forty years a great deal in this country about the education of the millions of negroes in the south. You in a way have contributed as individuals towards the lifting up of the black men of the south. The people in the New England and middle States have been large and generous contributors. The southern States themselves through taxation have helped in the education of the black men. And what has been the result of it all? Does it amount to anything? Is the effort and money thrown away, or have we any-

thing to show as results that would encourage us to make still further endeavor in the lifting up of these masses? Let us consider, first, the material prosperity that has taken place in the south among my people. Let us take one State, that is of Virginia, for example. And I take that because you can go to Richmond, the capital, and go into the auditor's office and verify my statements in regard to the progress made in that State, which has been very largely accomplished through the work of these educated men and women who have gone up there from these industrial schools and colleges during the last four or five years.

You will agree with me, for example, that the black man in Virginia forty years ago began life in complete poverty, scarcely owning his clothes, not owning the little shanty that sheltered his family. The year before last the auditor's office in Virginia showed that the colored people in that commonwealth owned and paid taxes upon one-twenty-sixth of all the land in the State of Virginia. (Applause.) In a county east of the Blue Ridge Mountains they paid taxes upon one-tenth of the land and in another county one-seventh and in still another upon one-sixth of all the land. Let us go further south. Take Georgia for example. Even in Atlanta you will find that the colored people the year before last—and this leaves out what they owned in the form of town and city lots the year before last they paid taxes upon over \$18,000,000 worth of property. And in the entire nation they paid taxes in the year before last, at a conservative figure, upon over \$300,000,000 worth of property. (Applause.) My friends, you must remember in that connection that the black man is learning the lesson perhaps from the white men not to give in his property for taxation purposes at its full value. So that, I suppose, if the average black man used the average white man's conscience when placing a valuation on his property for taxation purposes that \$18,000,000 really means \$30,000,000.

I was in the State of South Carolina some days ago looking through the work being done by some of our graduates in a community there, and after I had gone into their school-house I went out into the community. And, my friends, within a radius of a mile and a half I counted fifty-three neat, comfortable cottages that had been bought or were being bought by members of my race. And what name do you suppose they had given to this village? Now, usually where colored people live in large groups they call it "Bug Hollow" or "Little Africa." My friends, they called this village Columbia Heights. Just think of it, the impudence of it all, the impudence of a race only forty years out of slavery already living on Columbia Heights! Some white families have been trying to get on Columbia Heights for centuries and are not there yet. and the black man already there. (Laughter.)

Why, some time ago I met an old man near our institutions in Tuskegee on the road, in his waggon. I said: "Where are you going, Uncle Jake?" "Gwine to the camp meeting," he replied. "Do you

think you are able to go to the camp meeting," I asked. "Eight years ago," he replied, "I heard you teach our people to buy land and put money in the bank, and I have been trying to follow your advice for eight years, and now I am gwine to the camp meeting. I have done bought fifty acres of land and paid the last dollar. I got a pretty nice house, four rooms, painted inside and out, so got ready to go this year to the camp meeting. This is Jake's waggon that I bought a year ago, but I found you have to ride in a waggon before you can ride in a buggy. I have paid the last cent on the waggon, so I am ready to go to the camp meeting. These two girls are Jake's girls. Do you see their dresses? I bought the cloth for them and they made the dresses. Do you see that corn bread and bacon. I raised the pigs and the old woman cooked the meat. I raised the corn and the old woman cooked the bread. We's all gwine to camp meetin', gwine to shout because we have got money in our pocket and religion in our heart."

Well, my friends, that illustration represents a type of man that we are gradually reaching and lifting up in every part of the south, and if people ask me why I am so hopeful regarding the future of my race, why I never become disheartened, it is because I know that that represents thousands and thousands of our people who are gradually laying, surely but slowly this economic foundation, the same kind of foundation in cultivating the soil, the same kind of foundation in owning a house and having a bank account, that is behind the civilization and the prosperity of the human race and all races that have got upon their feet. That process of civilization is constantly going on. And, my friends, there is no power on earth which can stop the progress of a race that is getting that kind of foundation.

Now, in another direction, I believe that the black race in the south has justified every dollar that has been spent upon it; every effort that has been put forth in its behalf. In getting rid of this mantle of darkness I believe that we have justified all that has been done for us. You will agree with me that after centuries of freedom and of liberty that to-day thirty per cent. and more of the Italians, as we find them in their native country, are completely ignorant so far as a book is concerned; you will agree with me further that in Spain that more than sixty per cent. of the people are illiterate; seventy-two per cent. at least of the Russians are wholly illiterate, and if you go into the average South American country you will find that at least eighty per cent. of those peoples are wholly ignorant. With only forty years of freedom only forty-four per cent. of the American negro to-day are illiterate. My friends, do you know any progress in all history that can begin to compare with that? But some people will assert that the negro can secure property, he can acquire a trade, he can imbibe knowledge of books, but after all the weak point is in reference to his moral life, that in proportion as he gets education he goes back from a moral point of view.

And I am sorry to see that a high State official not very long ago in one of our Southern States—not many, I am glad to say, would do that—said, in a message to the State Legislature that the negroes became more criminal in proportion as they got education. Now, the logic of that remark is this: An ignorant negro is perfect, without education he is perfect. Give him a little education and he becomes a little criminal, more education and he becomes more criminal. He goes to the public school, more criminal; to the high school, yet more criminal; to the college, still more criminal. And that would lead you to conclude that if a black man graduated at Harvard or Yale he would go straight to the penitentiary. That is the logic of that kind of reasoning.

Now, it is easy for a man in any school of life to make general assertions that require no research. It requires no statesmanship in any direction to make a general assertion about a race or about an individual. Now, what are the proven facts regarding the careers and the results of the educated negro. I make this general assertion: You cannot find to-day in a single penitentiary in the United States a single man or a woman who holds a diploma from the Tuskegee Institute of Alabama. Within the past three years I have made careful examination into the records of the graduates from our fifteen industrial schools and colleges in the South, and I find that during the entire period of the existence of these fifteen institutions that only six, or less than six of their graduates have been sentenced to the State Penitentiary. My friends, it is not the educated black man that is guilty of crime. It is the man who has never had a chance; weighed down in ignorance and poverty and superstition. And your duty and my duty, whether we live in the north or the south, will not have been completed as Christians or gentlemen until either by our money or our service or sympathy we reach away down and take these most unfortunate people by the hand and lift them up and give them a chance to be helpful citizens. That is the kind of work to which I have devoted my life.

Do you know, my friends, that from the moral point of view the ownership of homes among a race, in a very large degree, determines their moral status? The census of 1890 showed that 71 per cent. of the American white people owned the houses that they occupied. The same census figures showed that 18 per cent. of the black people owned the houses that they occupied. And so we are already beginning to organize a home life and to get possession of property and inject that moral power and influence among us.

Now, I have referred to the progress of my people. And this has been accomplished not without effort on their part; not without tremendous sacrifices. Why, my friends, do you know that in one of our Southern States, year before last, where less than one-fourth of the negro children that were able to attend any kind of a public school, that one-fourth was in school for only about four months during the year. The

government had spent on them for their entire education during that period \$1.89 from the public fund. In some of the northern states, New York in particular, the white children there had spent upon them—public school children had spent upon them—\$20.00 and more for their education. Now, that kind of thing is unfair to the white race, unfair to the human race. If I were a stranger coming here and were to show a statement such as that, showing that it cost \$1.89 to educate a black boy in one part of the country, and \$20.00 and more to educate a white boy in another part of the country, I would reason that that must mean that this negro was naturally so bright and so intelligent that you could educate him for \$1.89, while the white boy was naturally so dull and stupid and so far back that you have to spend \$20.00 and more in order to educate him—(laughter and applause). Now, we want to see that kind of thing changed, and we want to see the thing levelled up or levelled down, and the education that we are trying to give at Tuskegee is helping to accomplish that result.

There is another problem. We have not only to lift up the black man, but we have the double effort and the more complicated task of trying to articulate the black man's life so that there will be peace, prosperity and harmony between the two races. Now, I may be in doubt about a good many phases of this subject, but on one question I have no doubt whatever. That is, that ignorance and race prejudice never solved a single problem on earth—(applause). And so long as we go on giving the people more light, more intelligence, more skill, we can feel absolutely sure that we are treading upon safe and steady ground. And wherever I go I see my race unable to yield to the temptation of hating any other race by reason of its color or by reason of its nationality. I say, whenever I get the chance, that if others would be little, we must be great; if others would push us down, we must help push them up; and in the last analysis the race or the individual that helps up is the one that will stand instead of the one that helps to push down.

Now, there is a great deal that is wrong, a great deal that is unjust, a great deal that is unjustified that is existing in the South, and I do not attempt in any way to cover that over or to minimize that. And so far in reference to the problem as it exists between the races, it is one of the most serious, most complicated, most far-reaching that any nation ever had before them for solution. But I do believe in the Providence of God that we have found a right method. Solving that problem will not occur in a few days, or in my generation, or in yours, but the solution will come. I believe the proper education of the black man and the education of the white man at the same time in a very large degree will assist the proper solution of this problem. In a word, I teach my people to make themselves useful whenever they can. I do think that usefulness will constitute their most lasting and potent pro-

tection; to make themselves so useful in the community where they live that that community will feel that it cannot dispense with their services or presence. And wherever any man, black or white, has learned to do a common thing in an uncommon manner, wherever any man has learned to do something so well that nobody can improve upon what he has done, that individual, no matter what his color or race, has solved all of these problems.

Now, I find that just in proportion as we can gradually go on putting these men of education and refinement in among the people in the South, so that these southern white men can actually see from day to day tangible, feasible results of the negroe's education, then he does change his mind concerning the effect of education on the negro. You hear from the southern white man who does not believe in negroe's education. You don't, however, often hear from the one who does believe in it. Some years ago one of our men began there the experiment of seeing how many bushels of seed potatoes he could produce on a single acre of land. He got to the point where he produced 266 bushels on one acre. The average production in the community had been 49 bushels to the acre. Yet the black man produced 266 bushels. You ought to have seen the southern white farmers coming there to see how that negro had done that! They forgot all about the color of his skin, didn't have a bit of prejudice against him. There was a man who by reason of his knowledge of the chemistry of the soil, knowledge of improved methods of agriculture, had been able to produce five or six times as many potatoes as they had produced, and they were willing to take off their hats to him. If one man lays his foundation in that direction others will follow and their children will rise still higher. This economic foundation must be laid by the race. I remember that two summers ago we took 1,900 bushels of peaches off a few acres of land for which we paid about one dollar an acre some years ago. You could not get an acre of land anywhere near that to-day for \$50.00 an acre. There was scarcely a day when those peaches were being harvested that there was not from one to half a dozen white farmers in that orchard who had come there to see how negroes could raise peaches so successfully in a climate where they had failed to do so. They don't draw any color line on peaches when the black man can help them to get dollars out of it.

Do you know there are seventeen banks in the southern states that are owned and controlled by black people? It is not bad for a race just out of slavery to have bank presidents.—(Laughter.) And there are black cashiers, too. You must remember that while there are strange and unjustifiable relations existing between the races in many respects in the South, in business and commercial relations the black man has a chance in the South which is not given him anywhere else in this or any other country. If he has goods to sell or groceries to buy he can

sell goods to whites as well as blacks and get just as good terms from the wholesaler as the white merchant. He can borrow money at the bank as quickly as the white man on an equal security. I was in a city in Alabama a few days ago where there is a colored bank 14 years old, with 6,000 depositors. A few days before that their banking house burned. Before 9 o'clock next morning three white banks sent their agents to this colored president and asked him if they could not have the privilege of furnishing them cash with which to start their day's business, for fear that by reason of this fire their vault had got so hot it could not be opened.

In these commercial and industrial directions the black man has his chance; in these directions he has his future, and the two races more and more are beginning to realize that the one is necessary to the success of the other. And, my friends, if you want to realize how much the southern white man thinks of the black man you can go through the south and start a crusade with the object in view of removing the black man out of that country, and you will have a problem on your hands very soon.

Now, I have not said very much about the moral and religious growth of my race, except to say that it is taking place. At the same time I have realized for years that it is a mighty hard thing to make a good Christian of a hungry man. And in proportion as our people have this economic development into homes, and also in bank accounts, their moral and religious life does grow higher and better.

You have heard a great deal in recent months about the lynchings in the South. I am sorry that they have existed. They are a disgrace to our civilization. These lynchings have existed, have taken place, and I have condemned them there as I condemn them here. In this respect, however, the education of the black man, this proper articulation into the life between the educated white man and the educated negro, is manifesting itself within the last few years. Public sentiment has been created in many directions against lynching. The result is that 15 years ago we had 235 lynchings in the United States. During the past 12 months we have only had 66 of these lynchings. And in the states where the negroes have had the greatest opportunity for education we have had the fewest of these lynchings. In Alabama during the last 12 months only three of these lynchings occurred; in Tennessee, three; in Virginia, only one. We have got a public sentiment started among black and white people that will result, in a few years, in the complete blotting out of these disgraceful crimes.

And, my friends, as we go on more and more, we are becoming proud of ourselves as a race of people. We feel that if the Irishman can be proud of his race, the Chinaman proud of his race, the Japanese proud of his race—and you know they say the Japanese are a white race now—the black man ought to be equally proud of his race—as

we are—(applause). I am sometimes asked if I don't grow disheartened and discouraged concerning the future of my people. Wherever I am asked that I think of two instances. I remember that when I went to Tuskegee as a young man and began this work I said: "We are going to put up our own buildings." People said: "That can't be done." I have never been interested in any men who tell me how not to do a thing. I said we would do it. I got a pick and shovel and started out to find some brick clay, and after working some hours we found clay that would make brick, as we thought. So we went to work—some of the students went out—got 40,000 bricks moulded—we called them bricks. We got them about half built in the kiln and then the kiln fell. I said: "We will try it again." Next time we had 50,000 moulded, a little better quality, and got the kiln nearly completed when it fell. Next time we got more bricks and the kiln nearly half burned, and I remember in the middle of the night that kiln fell down. When that third kiln fell I didn't have a single cent of money. Making bricks without straw is no harder than making them without money. I had a watch which a friend had given me, and I went to a pawnbroker with that watch and put the money I got on it into making a fourth brick kiln, and we succeeded, and since that our students have manufactured more than 2,000,000 of bricks, and they are as good bricks as you have in this city. I learned from that incident never to get discouraged concerning the future of our institution at Tuskegee, never to get discouraged concerning the future of my race.

During the late civil war in the United States a colored man was wounded upon the battle-field, and after he was shot down a doctor went to him and felt his pulse and listened to his heart beat, and then he reported to the chaplain that Sergeant Jones was fast passing away. The good chaplain went to the colored soldier and said: "Sergeant, you are passing away. Isn't there some token, aren't there some words you want me to convey to your loved ones at home before you pass?" He said: "Chaplain, put your arms about my neck and lift me up a little." That was done. Then the sergeant said: "Chaplain, put your hand in my coat pocket and take out a little black book and you will find a five-dollar bill in that book. Hold it before my eyes." That was done, and then the sergeant says, "Chaplain, move me up a little higher," and then he glanced at that five-dollar bill, and with his eyes straight in the eyes of the chaplain, he said: "Chaplain, I will bet you five dollars I will get well."

Judging by my experience and my work with my race, on this continent, I will bet the people of the Dominion of Canada five dollars that the black race will get well.—(Applause.) We are getting—going to get—well in body, well in mind, well in spirit, because out of Hampton and Tuskegee and scores of industrial centres we are sending the doctors who are going to make them strong, helpful and useful citizens.

(February 13th, 1906.)

"Canada—A Conservative and Progressive Force Among the Nations."

BY REV. DR. R. S. MACARTHUR, NEW YORK.

Addressing the Canadian Club, Rev. Dr. R. S. MacArthur, of New York, said :

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I greatly felicitate myself on the honor you have done me in inviting me to be the guest of your club, and to speak upon this occasion; I still further felicitate myself on the additional honor you have done me in changing the day of your meeting from Monday to Tuesday in order to accommodate me. I took part last night in one of the most memorable and brilliant occasions at the Waldorf-Astoria to celebrate the anniversary of Lincoln's birthday. It was one of the most remarkable dinners ever held in New York, but I left the city and left the dinner—before the dinner was half over—to fulfil my engagement with you here. I am sorry that I cannot stay longer in your queenly and beautiful city, where I have many personal friends. But I am called to speak to-night at London, Canada, at the Y.M.C.A.; to-morrow night I speak in London again, and on Friday evening in New York. So my week is an exceptionally busy one.

I congratulate you upon the existence of this club. It is honorably and favorably known all over the Dominion of Canada, and also in New York and throughout the United States. It stands for civic loyalty, business honesty, national patriotism and noble manhood.

You will pardon me if my remarks for a moment are of an autobiographical character. It is with most conflicting emotions that I rise to speak a word to you. Ten thousand memories of my boyhood and early young manhood come back to me. I left the Valley of Ottawa in the autumn—or, I should say, spring—of 1860 for the Woodstock College, then known as the Canadian Literary Institution, to prepare for my entrance into the University of Toronto. I expected to matriculate in this university and to graduate from this university. But in the summer of 1863 I met a gentleman I highly esteemed who made some remarks which caused me to change the entire plan of my life. Strongly, if not wisely, he urged me to go to the University of Rochester. Two remarkable men and divinity scholars were at its head, Martin Anderson and Elisha Robinson, who were giants of intellect and culture.

When I arrived in Rochester I did not know a soul under the American flag. Those were stirring times; the very air was tremulous with the great civil war. It was worth much to come into touch with

conditions as they were at that time, to hear the foremost men on the great, throbbing constitutional and historical questions. I confess my sympathies were with the South until that great historic emancipation proclamation issued from the heroic and immortal Lincoln. My father's home was the terminus of an underground railway, whence many a negro emerged from bondage. I was brought up to despise the United States—the country that boasted liberty and held slaves in pitiful bondage. But Lincoln's memorable proclamation rang out upon the air and the United States became as Canada and the British Empire. No slave breathed where the British flag floated.

My sympathies were drawn out warmly and loyally after that proclamation. I became an American citizen. It was not easy to take the oath of allegiance. I was gathered in with a number of unsightly and incipient American citizens. I was not then proud of my new country. Around were gathered the representatives of Tammany Hall swearing in—shall I say?—men who had only been a few weeks in the country to get their support for Tammany Hall. So I took the oath of allegiance; to “forswear princes and potentates”—that was not difficult; but there was a special clause in my case, “and especially Her Majesty Queen Victoria.” Ah! That cut closer. But I believed I did right, and I have not changed my view. I have had the honor of speaking upon several public occasions; as your president has courteously intimated I have been brought into more or less intimate association with some of the Republic's leading men, especially President McKinley, and him whom I believe to be the foremost man in the whole world to-day, Theodore Roosevelt. But I challenge any American to point to a single remark I ever made in disparagement of Canada or disloyalty to the British Empire. Such a thought never entered my heart.

In response to the request of your president I submitted as the topic upon which I might say a few words to you to-day, “Canada, a Conservative and Progressive Force Among the Great Nations.” Canada is both. She holds a premier position because of her integral relations with the British Empire. At the Canadian Club in New York it was suggested by a speaker that the time was coming when Canada would stand alone and work out her destiny as a separate empire. Never, so long as she preserves her proud sympathy with glorious British institutions. Canada has absolute autonomy with the special advantages of her relation to the British Empire. She is a grand democracy. No privileges are enjoyed in the American union that are not enjoyed here. The only shadow of the British throne is the coming, once in four years, of the Governor-General. Travel round the world—always respect and honor for the British Empire where law dominates and liberty triumphs. A native of India once said to me, “You cannot trust a native judge, but the whole wealth of India cannot bribe a British judge to do injustice to the meanest subject of India.”

And of this great and grand British Empire Canada forms an integral part; in the British crown she is one of the brightest jewels—a part and parcel of the greatest empire the world has ever known or shall know! The population of Rome at the meridian of her splendour, seated on her seven great hills, was estimated by Gibbons at 120,000,000; the population of Great Britain numbers 420,000,000. Russia is so vast in territory that we know the whole United States without Alaska would only cover one-third of her great expanse. If bigness were true greatness then Russian were great indeed. We may put the whole of the United States and Alaska into Siberia and there are yet 1,800,000 square miles uncovered. And Siberia is only a little more than one-half of the Russian Empire. The Russian Empire comprises 9,000,000 square miles. Compared with all but the British Empire, she is limitless in extent. The Czar can enter his railroad coach and travel 6,000 miles straight-away and never leave Russian soil. But compared with the British Empire Russia is small! The British Empire extends to the end of the earth. The British Crown girdles the globe. The marvellous British Empire! One glows with enthusiasm at the dauntless little island wrought in the stormy seas, whose brave Englishmen, brave Scotchmen and plucky Irishmen have gone forth and mastered the world. It would be ten thousand pities if Canada ever wished to withdraw from it. Canadians rejoice in that absolute autonomy which is not inconsistent with loyalty.

Since my boyhood days there has been a wonderful change in Canadian patriotism. Shall I give illustrations to show the correctness of my analysis? When I was a boy there was nothing called Canadian loyalty, patriotism or enthusiasm. My father never called Canada home. Scotland was home. The Highlands were nearer Heaven than any other spot on the footstool of God's green earth. No waters could quench my father's thirst like those of Loch Taye. He took out his Burns and chanted of the northern home. My mother could never get the Highlands of Scotland out of her memory. When my father lay dying he spoke his last words to his children in English, he addressed the minister in English, and with a chivalry that was knightly, begging pardon, addressed his last words to my mother in Gaelic. I ask her after if she would not translate them for me. "Ah, Robert," she said, "there is no translation for those terms of endearment that your father used when he courted me in Scotland." Again when one of us appealed to father to ask the blessing before meals in English, the response was: "No, no, Archie. The throne o' grace is no a place for a work o' translation." And this is profoundly philosophical. I have done some speaking in French, but when I sought to pray in French I found that "that the throne o' grace was no a place for a work o' translation."

In the early days a son of a Scotchman was Scotch, the son of an Englishman, English, and the son of an Irishman, of course, Irish. The Canadian was a Canuck, he was the French-Canadian. The term

was seldom used as an adjective as we invariably use it now. When I went to Rochester and they said "Look at this Canuck," I resented it. I replied, "I'm a Scotchman; the Canuck is a French-Canadian, not a Scotchman." They had better be careful how they sling adjectives with a tone of reproach.

But in 1867 a federation was formed of the Dominion. A national sentiment was created, a national enthusiasm and a Canadian patriotism. Then came the silly, silly Fenian invasion to cement that sentiment and more recently the Boer war, where no men marched into immortal honor and undying fame on the deadly veldts as did the brave boys from Canada. Yes, you have the larger relationship now. Guard jealously your rights.

Canada is a conservative and progressive force among the nations because of her loyalty to law. Liberty is not license. It is obedience to just laws. Numbers of men go to the United States and think that liberty is license. They come from Russia and other countries under tyrannical rules. I regret our lynchings. They have humiliated me more than words can adequately express. I have travelled in Japan, and one of the first taunts the cultured Japanese throw up are the lynchings in the United States. "Better keep your missionaries at home for the savages in the United States," they declare. I went into China and I found similar criticism awaiting. In India the educated Buddhists hurled the same reproach in my face. I said once to an American audience that every time there is a lynching it puts the cause of missions in heathen countries five to ten years backward. There is not a country in darkest Africa which is not seized with condemnation and denouncement of such acts under the American flag. My soul loathes it and my whole energy shall be given to denunciation of it. The British Empire is three and one-half times the size of the United States, it has a population five times as great, but, under the British flag all races and creeds under Heaven enjoy liberty under its laws. Lynching is unknown. The British flag is the synonym of law and order and liberty. So Canada stands as a conservative and progressive force by reason of her harmonization of law and liberty. May she ever stand true to that high ideal.

I think Canada is also a conservative and progressive force by reason of the high standard she sets in business morality. I don't suppose you are all saints. Some of you look quite saintly, but you are not angels yet. I have watched with unusual interest the high standards in business life preserved in Canada. In the United States we have men who have made themselves notorious in the insurance companies. I was on the first committee to start the first investigation. There were evils discovered and wrongs to be righted of which the policy-holders had until then no conception. What heartaches were experienced when men in high positions went down—when men who controlled the finan-

cial world under the American flag went to failure not far from criminal. It is pathetic to see men high in the social life cast out—men whose bright stories are left untold because there is no dinner committee now asking them to tell them. Oh, this dangerous haste to get rich instead of going along quietly, loyally, truthfully and honestly to the development of our manhood. We have different creeds, some of us are in the pulpit, most of us are in the pew, but we will all agree that the highest ideal of the human race was Jesus Christ. I asked a learned Brahman once for the ideal. He was cultured and educated. He studied his Shakespeare, his Tennyson, his Browning and his Longfellow. With eye steady and slightly moistured he replied: "No Zoroaster, not Buddah, not Mahommad," he said, "The ideal of the human race was Jesus Christ."

And so the world is opening up and developing along the right lines. Can we not look with the eye of faith far into the future when kindly relationships shall universally extend in the touching of hands and hearts, when the world will become one, religious, social and political. When, as Tennyson so magnificently put it:

"Till the war-drum throb'd no longer,
And the battle flags were furled
In the Parliament of man,
The Federation of the world."

Another day is dawning for all—the negro and the white—still brighter than the past, that day of universal brotherhood of which Burns sang, when all political difference shall be forgotten and social distinctions count for nought, when men shall be brithers a':

"Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that;
That sense and worth o'er a' the earth
May bear the gree, and a' that.

For a' that and a' that,
It's coming yet for a' that,
That man to man,, the world o'er,
Shall brithers be for a' that."

(February 26, 1906.)

“A Canadian Farmer on the Tariff.”

BY MR. E. C. DRURY, OF CROWN HILL.

In an address to the Canadian Club Mr. E. C. Drury, of Crown Hill, speaking on the subject, “A Canadian Farmer on the Tariff,” said:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—I may as well confess at the outset that I came here to-day with a good deal of fear. I was not afraid of the character of your club, I knew it was made up of a membership broad-minded enough to listen to all. But from the somewhat formidable list of names your President sent me I expected to come right into the enemy's camp. Instead I see around me many familiar faces. I see Professor James and Mr. Putman, old associates, and several of your members whom I know. In fact I feel as if I were more or less in a circle of friends.

I don't suppose, however, that there is anyone here except myself who is actively engaged in farming. If there are I am glad of it and feel even more at home. And I hope our discussion will not lead you to regret your kind invitation to me.

I am going to speak on a much discussed question—the tariff. You know farmers are not very often heard from. They are generally a silent lot. Our occupation in a sense makes us so. We carry it on by ourselves. We are in a sense isolated. We are not used to running before the country to express our views. I think we are a little too silent. The agricultural interests are not as often heard from as they are entitled to be.

Do you know that we represent three-fifths of the Canadian population according to the last census. Of course, I include with the farmer the corner blacksmith and the corner wheelwright, who are so closely associated and identified with him. The rural population then is three-fifths of the whole, so that I think from the standpoint of numbers we are entitled to be heard from.

Then again we have three times as much capital invested as all other enterprises of the country combined. I will quote you the official figures. The farmer has capital invested to the amount of over \$1,700,000,000, while all other industries combined only total \$552,000,000 of capital invested. The farmers then have three times as much capital invested as all others combined. Our invested capital is so great that it entitles us to be heard from.

And ours is productive capital. The farmers add to the wealth of the country \$443,000,000 per year, while all other producers combined add only \$307,575,000.

You tell me that I am incorrect, that the census returns show that total manufacturers' productions amounts to \$481,000,000. I reply that it is incorrect to figure that way. That the manufacturer can only be credited with the additional value which he puts upon the raw material with which he started. In finding the true amount of his contribution to the total wealth of the country you must deduct the cost of the raw material with which he started. According to the census figures of 1891, which are the last yet to hand on this subject, the cost of the raw material equals approximately half of the total production and my figures are thus computed upon that basis. So that on the ground of population, capital invested and production we are entitled to be heard from.

In the social and political life of the country the farm home is the backbone of stability. We have many faults—I know that well, but we are the one class that is less swayed by the excitement of the moment. We contribute the ballast.

But we have been heard and heard perhaps to some effect before the Tariff Commission. It was presented almost unanimously by the various deputations of farmers. The few that were divergent from the general consensus of opinion did not represent the farmers' interests. The great agricultural interests are practically unanimous in their views. Several strong pleas were submitted, some from Ontario, some from Quebec, and even from the North West Territories. The unanimity of opinion is remarkable because there was no general farmers' organization; it was not the result of agitation; it was not the result of putting our heads together. It was the spontaneous expression of a united public opinion. The farmers all said that protection did not help them.

There are three points which I want to develop briefly, for I know my time is nearly up and you want to hasten away to your work; three facts or reasons that I want to lay before you. First, a protective tariff does not and can not benefit the farmer. Now some of the members of the Manufacturers' Association may dispute that statement. It amuses farmers to see the parental way in which these gentlemen profess to guard their rights. Every year they go to Ottawa—in fact they make several annual pilgrimages—and every time they talk about the poor farmer. If he had sufficient protection, they said, he would get wealthy, so they tried it, and instead he got poorer. Not one farmer in a dozen believes their talk and that one is the dunderhead.

Protection doesn't help the farmer. What does he produce? Mainly pork, beef, cheese, butter and grain, with eggs and poultry. The Manufacturers' Association has pieces in the Toronto papers that

nine-tenths of this production is home consumed, but the farmer knows that it is the market report of the old country that fixes the price.

The farmers are not theorists. They are practical men and they know that their price is gauged by the price in the old country market. I took ten pigs to the market and nine out of ten were sold on the way to the old country, but I got the price for them all that the one would bring in the old country.

It is the law of practical economics that the exportable surplus regulates the price of the whole, barring combinations. At the same time the farmers don't want combinations; they are law-abiding citizens. We couldn't combine if we tried, so perhaps there isn't so much credit due to us.

The farmer knows these things. He has the best kind of teacher in practical experience. Before the combine of oatmeal makers the price of oats was lower in the United States than here. So the duty is removed from oats. And there should be less drastic duty on everything, the view of the Hon. Richard Patterson. The price can't be raised by any trick of the tariff. We are told that we can build up a common centre and consume our own products. The absurdity of it! We are not like England, France and Germany, where the agricultural resources have been exploited to the last degree. Millions of acres still wait in Canada for the pioneer farmer. Canada need not fear the importation of agricultural products. If Canada imports agricultural products we will have to open up communication with Mars or some other planet and import them for the whole world. The farmer knows that no twisting and turning of the tariff can add to the price of what he has to sell, but he knows the tariff enhances the price of what he has to buy. When we see that we can buy an American reaper shipped in here for the same price as a Canadian reaper we know something is raising the price of the Canadian reaper—and we blame the tariff. When we can buy a suit of clothes of English cloth as cheaply as a Canadian make we think something is raising the price of the Canadian cloth and blame the tariff. When I had to sell the fleeces of twenty-five sheep to buy a suit of ordinary tweed clothes, I knew something was doing some shrinking—and I blamed the tariff. The farmer finds the tariff enhances the price of what he has to buy and he needs relief.

The farmer has to direct his own business. He works harder with his hands than any other man. He has more manual labor and he has to manage his business, too. He gets little profit and he stands in need of relief. The statements I gave before the Tariff Commission on behalf of the farmer are to be reproduced in the Canadian Magazine. Study the situation from his standpoint. Take into consideration his own wages, his son's and the interest on his accumulated investment and he lands a little behind. His accumulated capital you say is there, but

that was gotten from the back woods by his grandfather. The farmers that come out better than even only does so by frugality and very good management.

The farmer has the worst of the labor problem. When his hired man strikes he has to do double labor himself. The hired man has the city factory idea now-a-days. He works only from seven till six and the farmer is left to do all the inevitable chores after that time. It isn't that he's a stingy grub that he works that long. Its because the hired man quit at six to play football. And when a wet day comes along he lies in the haymow and the farmer pays his wages just the same.

If the farmer were unreasonable he would demand that abominable thing called free trade. If we were a set of cranks we would do this and be looked on as what the union men call scabs. But we have made only moderate and modest requests. We ask that in the revision of the tariff all changes shall have a downward tendency and we would like to see British preference carried as far as it will go. You see we are loyal and patriotic. We would like to see it extended till we had free trade throughout the Empire. We are ready to give a helping hand to the mother country, knowing her ships will want return cargoes and freight rates will become a great deal lower.

I have nothing but goodwill to the Manufacturers' Association, but when I think of the unfair things they urge I think their position strange. They urge greater protection from cheap foreign labor. But the farmer pays the bill. The Canadian farmer competes with cheaper labor than the manufacturer. He pays from \$225 to \$285 a year with board and washing and it is usually labor that doesn't care from its employer's interests.

In the cattle business the farmer competes with the ranches of Texas and the ranges of Argentina—and even the North West—but against them he makes no complaint as they are brother Canadians. Under the circumstances the manufacturers in making complaint are surely a little Pecksniffian—and that's a mild word to apply.

There is another reason why the change in tariff should be made. We have looked at class reasons so far, now let us look at the census. Canada is opening up a great agricultural country and the agricultural population should be going ahead. What facts does the census show? In the last ten years the agricultural population has increased only 1.62 per cent. while the urban population has increased 31.46 per cent. In British Columbia the agricultural population has increased 45 per cent. and the urban .142 per cent. In Manitoba the agricultural population has increased 65 per cent. and the urban 71 per cent.

Now look at the older provinces. In New Brunswick the agricultural population has decreased by 6 per cent. and the urban increased by 58 per cent. In Nova Scotia the agricultural population has decreased by 12½ per cent. and the urban increased by 68 per cent. In

Ontario the agricultural population has decreased by 3.73 per cent. and the urban increased by 14.28 per cent. In Prince Edward the agricultural population has decreased by 6 per cent. and the urban increased by 4 per cent. In Quebec, even in Quebec, where the farmers and their wives have families of 28 and 30, the agricultural population has only increased by .39 per cent., while the urban has increased by 31.32 per cent.

I have had my dream of greatness for Canada, with its agricultural development of the great national resources going ahead of every other; a dream of agricultural lands opened up to provide trade for the cities and manufactories that would follow, when the agricultural population shall increase and open up the lands for the cities and towns that follow in its wake. Gentlemen, the figures don't look like a fulfilment of my dream.

We are taking the stones from the foundation to put them on top. The farm is the bulwark of the land—the ideal social conditions exist there. It is the simplest, truest and sweetest social life of the nation and the mainstay of its political upbuilding. Ill fares the land where wealth accumulates and men decay. As patriotic Canadians let us all beware of tolerating any system which is undermining the destiny of the great farming community. I thank you all for the sympathetic and appreciative hearing you have given me.

(March 5th, 1906.)

Banking in Relation to Trade.

HON. JAMES H. ECKELS CHICAGO.

Hon. James H. Eckels, Chicago, President of the Commercial National Bank, and former Comptroller of Currency for the United States, addressed the club as follows:—

My visit to Toronto this time is a source of great pleasure to me, for it enables me to renew my acquaintance with some old friends whose friendship I greatly value. In going about your city this morning I have seen at least one great factor in the upbuilding of Toronto, I think the most important factor essential to the having of good government, correct ideas upon private and public morals and the putting of these ideas into practical effect—I refer to the educational institutions which are confined within the circle of this city. It is not hard to know why Toronto is prospering and why it is known not only within the borders of Canada, but beyond the geographical lines of this great country.

There have been great disasters of a business character, more far-reaching ruin spread, affecting men in high positions and great business undertakings, and affecting labor and all the interests which in turn have to do with it, by the holding of erroneous ideas upon great economic questions, and none more so than those questions which are at the foundation basis of banking, and credit and trade and commerce. It has been the boast of our people that their progress in business and social life and other spheres of undertakings has only been limited by the circle of the globe. Still, with a degree of shame I confess it that despite their activity in business affairs, despite their vital achievements in all that underlies trade and commerce, they have indulged more persistently in erroneous ideas upon great economic questions than almost any people, no matter what may be the form of government or where such people live. For it was in my own country that the curious doctrine was set up that the foundation principle of monetary standard should not rest upon the judgment of men of business affairs, who through their experience in such business and through their study of economic questions arrived at the sane conclusion that commerce should dictate what the monetary standard should be and that it should not be regulated by the "be it enacted" of a statutory body brought together for legislative purposes. We ourselves, against the history of the commercial world, against the decrees of parliament, not of law makers, but of business men can stand alone in the establishment of a monetary standard and a banking system. Through a long period of years, at great expense, at the risk of loss of financial honor, to the impairment of the United States, a large body of its citizens, some with underlying motives of dishonesty, some with the underlying motive of lack of knowledge, undertook to set up the silver standard. But, as John Stuart Mill once said of our people, when discussing the tendency of the American people towards economic heresies, at the critical time the common sense and the common honesty of the American people asserted itself, the wrong thing was put down and the right thing prevailed, and we escaped that which would have been widespread disaster to us and must have had its reflex action upon all the commercial undertakings of the world. (Applause.)

At last we have learned that the decrees of commerce care nothing for the decrees of law, that the monetary standards and business principles and interchange of credit and the establishment of credit must be founded not upon parliamentary enactments, but upon the decrees of men in business affairs. (Applause.)

We have learned, and the whole world is learning it—some have learned it faster than others—that there is no such thing in the world of trade, there is no such thing in the world of credit, there is no such thing in the world of banking as standing alone, establishing credit and banking systems and monetary standards without having regard to

what else lies within the circle of your own country's boundaries. We have learned that most important of all lessons that in the world of business and in the world of credit and in the world of monetary standards there is a solidarity of interests which as time goes on becomes more close instead of further apart, and credit—you cannot confine credit if you would to the immediate circle in which you do your business, because no people can succeed in the world of business that lives unto itself.

I have heard ever since I was a boy the discussion carried on as to whether or no it was not sufficient for the country in which I live to have the business and the consumption of its own people rather than the larger sphere of the world at large. We have builded about ourselves a wall that has kept our people from reaching further out, bringing more people to it, under the specious theory that we ourselves should live unto ourselves. But at last in the outgoing and the ever-increasing products of the energy of our people, with its resources great and natural we have found closer competition, so that where extravagance could be practised we must now look for trade through economies. We have awakened to the fact that this wall with which we have hedged ourselves has made others protect themselves with similar things and we find ourselves working at a disadvantage. I have no fear of the widened circle, whether it applies to the ordinary affairs of trade and commerce and banking or to the particular affairs of manufacturing, because I take it that that people are most extravagant and that people violate all the canons of correct economic principles who insist upon doing a thing for themselves at a greater expense when some one else can do it for them at a lesser expense. (Applause.) And the people who employ their energies in doing the less productive thing as against the thing they could do at less expense and more profit fail to accomplish that which, no matter how glittering may appear the present thing, in the end must only cause ultimate disaster.

There are in all these questions of economics much to be said on both sides, but I venture the assertion that for twenty years at least, in so far as the United States is concerned, its prosperity has been in spite, not because, of these economic laws. (Applause.) I venture the assertion that even in its banking laws, the great errors connected with them would long, ere this, have worked out a still wider disaster than came in 1893 if it had not been for the fact that outside the pale of these laws were men in charge of the banking institutions and the great commercial enterprises who, without the aid of legislative enactments, and in spite of them worked out the plans which lessened the evil of the enacted statutes. And the same thing pertains to the manufacturing of the United States. Whatever success the products of the manufacturers of the United States have gained has been because of the ingenuity and the energy and the indomitable perseverance and will of those

in charge of these great undertakings, coupled with the fact that the country was so rich in its natural resource that extravagance could be practised and still we could succeed in selling a portion of our product abroad as against and in spite of the laws which shut out the product of others from our own people except at extravagant cost.

Beyond this, in our banking system we have done that which to my mind is as erroneous as the hard and fast line which prevents us from adopting that which experience has taught other people and economic history has demonstrated to be correct. In the note-issuing function of the National Banks there is the one single factor in favor of the present system. It is that one essential of safety, a safety so great that in and of itself it is a weakness, because there are no banking institutions in the country which can so little under the law respond to the demand created, can so little localize credit where needed, can so little avail itself of their relief of situations at critical times as the banks under the national system of our country, based entirely upon bonds, the volume of which fluctuates not with the needs of trade and commerce, does not respond to the need here or withdraw when it is not needed there, but has the single end in view that the volume of bank notes shall depend entirely upon the price of Government bonds which are deposited for the purpose of securing that circulation. And those who in our own country defend it upon the single idea of safety add to that their undoubted belief that somehow and in some way banks must be differentiated from other business institutions, and that they are philanthropic or eleemosynary institutions; conducted not for the purpose of profit, but for the single purpose of doing a patriotic thing in keeping up circulation based upon Government bonds. The truth is that when Government bonds bring a higher price in the market as bonds pure and simple, the circulation is reduced and bonds are sold for that purpose with a single idea of profit, and the element of philanthropy is as wanting in that business as in any other business undertaking.

I want to pass just a moment to another question. During all this period of unrest, a part of it the result of unprecedented prosperity, a prosperity that began with you long before it began with us, because during the period from 1893 to 1898 no one here doubted what your monetary standard was, no one had to enquire whether the Government from day to day could supply sufficient gold to meet the demands of the outstanding obligations of the Government, because you never undertook the foolish thing of making your Government the means of supply of gold which ought to come from banking institutions and not from Government; you had your period of prosperity before us and you have continued since, and the evidences of it are not only here, but they are to the east of you, they are to the west of you, they are wherever the active energies and the economies and the upright living of your people are. And it has found fruition in greater manufacturing undertakings,

greater prosperity to the farmers, enlargement of great transportation lines and the evidences that indicate the prosperity of a happy people. But with us, and I take it with you, in all these times of business prosperity have come questions of serious moment and elements which disturb and thoughts which at times make people doubt, no matter what may be the form their Government may take, as to the continued prosperity and the happiness and the loyalty of a people. We have seen it in our own country. We have seen the elemental principles of honesty forgotten in the desire for the acquirement of greater wealth. We have seen elements of discontent bringing the discontented people nostrums which the whole world's history and experience demonstrate to be unfit to cure the disease, and we have seen in a measure at least our people accept them.

To an extent those who have acquired and control great fortunes have been responsible, because while there must never be denial of the right of the individual to acquire all that he can through honest endeavor and uprightness of purpose, that acquirement must not only be within the pale of law, but within the spirit of it. (Applause.) And once acquired, the man of wealth as well as the man whose daily toil measures his income and his acquirement of riches, must not forget that he cannot live unto himself, but he is his brother's keeper. (Applause.) I have no sympathy with the assaults upon wealth, as I have no sympathy with the denial of the right of labor. But the largest measure of criticism can be avoided by the very simple teaching that each man within the law must be supreme within the sphere of his own undertakings, and that having acquired honestly he must be protected honestly. (Hear, hear.)

The difficulty with the present situation with us is that in this age of great prosperity, in this wonderful acquirement of riches, in this breeding of influences in trade and commerce and in other lines, we have permitted through tolerance with erroneous ideas, through coddling of them for political purposes and for political advantage honest criticism of dishonest methods lose to itself in glamour and in unreasoning hatred, and upon public platforms and in legislative halls and through the columns of the press we find daily taught that which is not intended to breed contentment and prosperity, but for the purpose of breeding discontent and make a man hate instead of love his brother. With us, as I take it with you and every other people, we find ourselves confronted with the specious doctrine that prosperity and wealth and all the things that add to the prosperity of the people ought not to rest in the largest measure upon the abilities and the energies and the economies of the individual, but that they are to spring from enacted statutes, and that every man's business ought to be regulated by statutory enactment. You find the doctrine taught, I take it, taught here as it is taught with us that the individual must be sunk and his individual-

ity lost in the aggregate whole, and that great business undertakings which require experience, which have been built up by the risk of private capital, which had been made to contribute indirectly towards the general public more than directly to the individuals, must now be taken over by the general public and operated by the general public, not through the agency of men whose ingenuity and whose experience and whose risk of capital have built them up, but by an impersonal something which we denominate a Government, whether it be a Government of a whole people or a Government of a State that in the largest measure finds its duties and its obligations circumscribed by the desire for political advantage rather than business success and business acumen. And when either in this country or in ours we have reached the point where the Government departs—whether it be the Government of a municipality or the Government of a State or the Government of a nation—from those simple and well defined functions of maintaining order through police powers and collecting revenue wisely laid and disbursing it economically through well considered appropriations, we have reached a point where those who advocate that thing, are departing from the sphere of Government which is now purely intellectual socialism and stepping out into the broader field of actual socialism; and the prosperity of these people and the prosperity of our own, builded by the experience and wisdom and invested personal capital that has made feasible the great manufacturing undertakings, the great commercial enterprises, the splendid lines of transportation, giving to the people a prosperity which has reached to all classes and in all lines would be lost, and the effect will be that the Government through its political agencies has builded itself up by listening to something which heretofore experience has always demonstrated to be a fallacy, and the prosperity which we now possess will depart only to come back to us at greater cost, and more wide-spread disaster than any country yet has ever seen. (Loud applause.)

(March 12th, 1906.)

Electrical Smelting.

DR. EUGENE HAANEL, DOMINION SUPERINTENDENT OF MINES.

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The iron and steel industry is the foundation of our modern civilization. To enable us to appreciate our dependence upon steel and iron we need only ask ourselves what would be the state of affairs in the civilized world if that remarkable material which we name iron, and from which steel is produced, were swept from the face of the earth. Transportation, such as we know it, by land and sea would cease. The hum of the machinery of a thousand industries would be hushed. We would be deprived of the comforts and elegancies of life we now enjoy, and the civilization of the population in cities would become impossible. Indeed we could do better without either gold or silver than without this precious, though comparatively cheap, material, iron.

I think you will admit that the commercial status of a nation depends, to a very large extent, on the development of its iron and steel industries. I well recollect that the possession of an English-made jack-knife by a German school boy some fifty years ago rendered him an object of envy. To-day cutlery of all sorts, labelled "made in Germany," can be found in any hardware store in Canada, and Germany owes its prestige, so does the United States, to the remarkable development of its iron and steel industries, not to speak of England, which in this matter has been the pioneer.

Such names as Bessemer, Siemens, Thomas, Krupp and Carnegie will always be regarded as the chief agents in the commercial advancement of their respective nations. A country which requires to import its iron, the raw material of all industrial progress, you will readily grant is severely handicapped in the race for commercial pre-eminence. It is only when a country is able to manufacture commodities beyond its need that exportation and expansion of trade becomes possible. During the year 1903-1904 Canada imported pig iron in the crude and manufactured state to the amount of over \$43,000,000. These figures show to what extent we are at present dependent upon outside sources for a material which is necessary for every industry.

As regards Canada, which in these later days is being regarded as the Eldorado to absorb the overflow of the teeming populations of Europe, the need for iron will, in the near future, be enormously increased to provide the influx of settlers with tools and agricultural machinery, to furnish the material for our new railroads, the struc-

tural steel required in modern architecture and bridge building and the material necessary for the modification of established and the inauguration of new industries.

To stimulate and encourage the production of iron and steel from our abundant sources of raw material, the Government has offered generous bounties on pig iron produced in Canada and placed an export duty on articles manufactured from iron and steel.

Regarding the distribution of the raw material for the production of pig iron, the conditions of the country are, however, such that the necessary coking coal for blast furnace work is found only at the extreme east and west, while the large stretch of country intervening, occupied by the Provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, is without coal deposits capable of furnishing metallurgical coke, although extensive iron ore deposits occur in some of these Provinces, notably in Ontario and Quebec. If these deposits are to be utilized in the production of pig iron by the present methods of smelting, either coke must be brought to blast furnaces erected in the vicinity of these deposits, or the ore of these Provinces must be transported to blast furnaces erected near an abundant coal supply. In either case the transportation costs render such a course uneconomic.

When I assumed the duties of my present position this disability under which the last named Provinces were placed as regards the up-building of an iron and steel industry to furnish sufficient product for home consumption made a deep impression on me. It became evident to me that some other method of smelting in which some other source of energy than that resulting from the combustion of carbon in blast furnaces was needed to solve the problem, for unless such a new process could be proven to be practicable, the extensive ore deposits of these Provinces must remain to a large extent undeveloped and the regions which otherwise might be made to teem with an industrial population remain waste areas for many years to come.

Fortunately the necessity of profitably employing the electric plants erected in different parts on the continent, especially in France, for the production of carbide, which had to be closed down as unprofitable, furnished the incentive to invent methods for applying electric energy: first, to the production of the different ferros, and subsequently to the production of pig iron and steel.

In the solution of the problem of applying electric energy to the extraction of metals from their ores Captain Stassano in Italy and Heroult and Keller in France have rendered conspicuous service. The description of the experiments made by them and the results obtained attracted wide attention and were eagerly discussed in the scientific press, for it was at once seen that if by the electric process pig iron could be economically produced, such countries as Brazil, Chile, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Canada, all rich in iron ore deposits and the neces-

sary fluxes and possessing extensive water powers, but lacking coal, would be able to render themselves independent of outside sources by employing the electro-thermic processes for the manufacture of their iron and steel.

It was with a view of ascertaining the practicability of introducing electric smelting into Canada that the Honourable Mr. Sifton, then Minister of the Interior, appointed a commission to investigate this subject, results of which have been laid down in a special report.

The only experiments which the commission was able to witness in the electric smelting of iron ores were those made by Dr. Heroult at La Praz, France, and Mr. Keller, of Keller, Leleux and Company, at Livet. The first was a mere trial, the latter more extensive experiments continued for a number of days, but were made in furnaces not designed for the production of pig iron, but in furnaces which had been constructed for the production of ferro-silicon. The ore used in the Livet experiments had been imported for that purpose from Spain and was an excellent hematite, very porous, free from sulphur and containing a considerable percentage of manganese, consequently an ore easily treated in regard to sulphur and also easily reduced.

The output of pig iron per 1,000 electric horse power days was for one set of experiments equal to 5.76 tons, for the second set of experiments it was equal to 12.12 tons, but the iron made in this last experiment was mainly white iron. Mr. Harbord, the metallurgist of the commission, adopted as the probable output of 1,000 electric horse power days the mean of the two experiments, namely, 7.82 tons.

Not alone was this discrepancy between the two experiments very unsatisfactory regarding the absorption of electric energy required per ton of pig produced, but a number of points requiring determination for our Canadian ores, such as the successful smelting of magnetite, the utilization of iron ore of high sulphur content and the substitution of charcoal for coke required to be demonstrated.

As a matter of fact an experiment was made at Livet with the substitution of charcoal for coke, which proved an absolute failure, and it was assumed by Mr. Harbord and Mr. Keller that charcoal could be used only if it was first briquetted with the ore and the briquette broken up the size of one inch cubes.

Regarding the electric smelting of iron ores of high sulphur content Mr. Harbord states that the experiments cannot be said to have demonstrated that low sulphur pig iron can be obtained without manganese in the ore mixture and before this can be considered experimentally proved, it will be necessary to have a series of experiments made with non-manganiferous ores.

For the successful introduction of electric smelting of Canadian ores the following points which could not be settled by the European experiments required demonstration :

Can magnetite, which is our chief ore and which to some extent is a conductor of electricity, be successfully smelted?

Can iron ores with considerable sulphur content be made into pig iron of marketable composition?

Can charcoal, which can be made from mill refuse and other available sources of wood useless for other purposes, be substituted for coke which must be imported?

And lastly, what is the exact amount of electric energy required per ton of pig iron produced?

With a view of ascertaining these important facts experimentally, I prepared a memorandum to the Honourable Mr. Oliver, Minister of the Interior, recommending an appropriation for the investigation of the whole subject.

It was fortunate that Dr. Heroult, of La Praz, who had been the first to experiment on the subject of electric smelting of iron ores, happened at that time to be on a visit in Ottawa. He signified his consent, if the appropriation were made, to undertake the designing of a furnace of about 250 h.p. capacity and the investigation of the factors entering into the economic production of pig iron from Canadian ores by the electro-thermic process.

The Lake Superior Power Company, of Sault Ste. Marie, offered a building in which to erect the plant and the use of one of their alternators of 300 electric horse power capacity, free of expense for four months. It was decided to accept this offer and the plant was ordered to be erected in the building provided for this purpose.

The necessary transformer to transform the current down from 2,200 volts to about 40, such as was required for our experiments, and the necessary measuring instruments to determine the power consumed were ordered from the Westinghouse Company and electrodes 6 feet long and 16 inches square section were ordered from Sweden. The construction of bins, overhead work of the furnace, construction and erection of furnace and experimentation to adjust the capacity of the crucible of the furnace to the power available consumed the greater part of the fall and winter.

The experimentation on Canadian ores began in earnest about the middle of February, the furnace being in operation night and day, with some few intermissions, until the 5th of March. During that time about 150 casts were made, yielding about 55 tons of pig iron. For the first experiments the ores employed were hematite, such as used by the Algoma Steel Company in their blast furnaces; for the remainder of the experiments different classes of Canadian magnetite from different sources, all of high sulphur content, with the exception of the Wilbur magnetite, which was low in sulphur, were employed.

From theoretical grounds much difficulty was expected to be encountered in the smelting of magnetite. This can be best understood

by describing to you the construction of the furnace which, you will perceive, is exceedingly simple.

Imagine this glass to be the cylinder in which we boil the iron. It is lined with fire brick, the lower part being the carbon, to which is attached the cable. The centre prism is carbon and the charge surrounds the carbon. The current in passing through, thus, meets with the resistance and is turned into heat. The charcoal is the reducing material and the iron is melted to the bottom of the crucible. The regulation temperature is maintained by a man who looks after the instrument and moves the electrode, but this is only in the experimental stage. When it is put to commercial utility this regulation will be automatic.

But even the very first experiments with magnetite proved that our fears had been groundless and that magnetite could be smelted with as much facility as hematite and with an output equal to that of the best experiment made with hematite. Moreover, since it was important to substitute, if possible, charcoal, which can be cheaply produced in Canada, for coke, which is dear and which must be imported, the charges were made with charcoal. No difficulty was experienced whatsoever, the furnace working quietly and regularly, requiring little attention to the regulation of the electrode.

Analysis of the iron produced soon proved that although the slag was not particularly basic the sulphur could be caused to pass into the slag, resulting in a pig iron containing a few thousandths of a per cent. of sulphur.

In every instance the output was far greater—in several instances one-third greater than the figure adopted by Mr. Harbord in the report of the commission on electric smelting.

Upon the attainment of these remarkable results and the desulphurization due to the higher temperature available in the electric furnace over that of the blast furnace it was decided to experiment with the roasted and briquetted nickeliferous pyrrhotite, of which there were several thousand tons in stock in the yards. An analysis of these briquettes showed that they contained about 1.6 per cent. of sulphur. The experiments were entirely successful, furnishing a ferro-nickel pig containing $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of nickel and virtually free from sulphur, that is, containing only about six-thousandths of a per cent. The estimated value of this product is from \$40 to \$44 per ton. So successful have these experiments proven that the Lake Superior Power Corporation have decided to acquire the Government plant for the purpose of converting their stock of briquetted ore into marketable ferro-nickel pig.

One of the most important points in the investigation, which could not be successfully settled by the experiments at Livet, was the consumption of the electrodes and it was found that the consumption was beyond expectation small and that an electrode which had been in use for three weeks and during that time had been exposed to free air in

an incandescent state for many hours and had been used for melting down charges, which is always attended by waste of electrode without corresponding output in metal, that even with this severe test the consumption per ton of pig iron produced was between 15 and 20 pounds. Dr. Heroult states that by his process of manufacturing electrodes one pound would cost about one and a half cents, so that thirty cents would be a maximum outlay per ton of pig for electrode consumed, instead of seventy-seven cents as given in the commission's report.

The far-reaching consequences of the gratifying results achieved by these experiments will at once be apparent. Many of our magnetites are too high in sulphur to be handled by the blast furnace and consequently have so far been of no commercial value. But the very best of pig iron, as has been proven, can be made from ores which contain as high as seven per cent. of sulphur. A blast furnace will not usually handle an ore which contains more than one-tenth per cent. of sulphur and requires, therefore, an ore which cannot be got at a low figure. The Algoma Steel Works pays, I understand, \$4.50 for the hematite which they use in their blast furnaces. A pig iron equal in value and lower in sulphur content can be made by the electric process from sulphurous ores, which could be bought for \$1.25.

Regarding the water power required for the application of this process it may be stated that many water powers exist in Ontario surrounded by iron ore fields in localities ill-adapted for the application of electric energy for any other purpose and could be developed to furnish an electric horse power year from \$4.50 to \$6.00.

With such a price for the energy required, the small consumption of electrode, the cheapness of the ore employed and the peculiar excellence of the pig iron produced, electric smelting of iron ores in Canada, using charcoal or peat coke made from our peat bogs of enormous extent, may be pronounced a commercial success. Under the prevailing conditions in Canada it now only remains for the engineer to design a plant on a commercial scale, say of 100-150 tons daily output, with all the necessary labor saving appliances. Just as in the case of the blast furnace so likewise with the electric furnace, experience gained will result in further economy and the day may not be far distant when the carbon monoxide, product of the reaction taking place in the electric furnace is allowed to escape without utilization, will be employed for increasing the output by at least $\frac{1}{3}$ if not $\frac{1}{2}$. If that should take place, the blast furnace could not compete with the electric furnace, even under condition where coke might be cheaper than at present quoted in Ontario and Quebec.

A further advantage of the electric process should be pointed out, in that the units employed are comparatively small and cheap of construction. A unit of 1,500 H. P. is perhaps the largest that under present circumstances should be constructed. Such a unit would have an output of about 18 tons per day and corresponds in size to about the larger Swedish

charcoal blast furnaces. With the present advance which has been made in the transference of electric energy batteries of electric furnaces could be set up at various iron ore deposits, which could be fed with electric energy from some centrally located water power, thus affecting a saving of the transportation costs of the ore from the mine to the furnace. When a deposit is worked out the furnace may be moved to the next deposit, simply lengthening the wires which carry the high tension current to the transformers of the plant. This method is especially applicable in the case of the many pocketty deposits of magnetite which occur in the Ottawa Valley.

The following is a summary of the results of the experiments which have been made under Government auspices at Sault Ste. Marie:—

1st. Canadian ores chiefly magnetite can be economically smelted by the electro-thermic process.

2nd. Ores of high sulphur content can be made into pig iron containing only a few thousands of a per cent. of sulphur.

3rd. The silicon content can be varied as required for the class of pig to be produced.

4th. Charcoal which can be cheaply produced from mill refuse or wood which could not otherwise be utilized and peat coke made from peat, of which there are abundant deposits in Ontario and Quebec, can be substituted for coke without being briquetted with the ore.

5th. A ferro-nickel pig can be produced practically free from sulphur and of fine quality from roasted nickeliferous pyrrhotite.

6th. Pyrite cinders, resulting from the roasting of pyrite in the manufacture of sulphuric acid and which at present constitute a waste product, can be smelted into pig iron by the electric process.

7th. Titaniferous iron ores containing up to five per cent. can be successfully treated by the electro-thermic process. This conclusion is based upon an experiment made with an ore containing 35 per cent. of titanitic acid, yielding a pig iron of passable quality, judging from its fracture.

The results of the introduction of electric smelting into Canada may be summarized as follows:

1st. The utilization of our extensive water powers, which cannot at present be profitably employed for any other purpose.

2nd. The utilization of the large number of iron ore deposits, which on account of their high sulphur content cannot be treated by blast furnace methods and have so far been valueless. This is of extreme importance, for already the question has arisen, how long the present supply of blast furnace iron ore is likely to last and ores are now accepted by furnace men with a metallic content such as would not have been looked at a few years ago, and when these ores are exhausted and none but sulphurous ores or titaniferous ores are available, the stacks of the numerous blast furnaces, which have rendered such magnificent service to our

present civilization, will be silent and smokeless, having been supplanted by the electric furnace which can successfully treat an ore which the blast furnace cannot handle.

3rd. The utilization of our extensive peat bogs for the production of peat coke, to be used as reducing material for the operation of electric furnaces, and utilization of mill refuse and sawdust, for which there has so far been no practical use.

4th. Rendering Canada independent of fuel import for metallurgical processes.

5th. Enabling Canada to produce her own pig iron from her abundant sources for home consumption and consequently retaining in our own country the money which otherwise would have to be sent abroad to purchase pig iron in the crude and manufactured state.

6th. The development of steel plants and rolling mills using only electric energy.

Already, and it is only a year since the report of the Commission appointed to investigate the different electro-thermic processes for the smelting of iron ores and the making of steel in operation in Europe has been sent out to the public, a steel plant adopting Heroult's system has been erected in Syracuse, N.Y., and will be in operation in about two weeks; another using the Kjellin system has been erected in Sheffield, England, and I have been notified that two of the Kjellin system and one Heroult have been erected in Germany. These furnaces are designed to make the best crucible steel and their introduction means the abandonment of the old crucible process. I see no difficulty in the way of constructing electric furnaces of a capacity equal to that of our open hearth furnaces and the production of structural steel by the electric process is likely to become an accomplished fact in the near future.

I need not picture to you the future which opens a vista of commercial success for Canada by the inauguration of the new metallurgy of iron and steel, on account of the magnificent asset of her abundant supply of water power. I remember having delivered in Faraday Hall, Victoria University, Cobourg, shortly after the invention of the telephone, a lecture in which I tried to picture the results of the discoveries which had been made in the practical application of that wonderful agency we term electricity and while what I said seemed greatly to interest the audience, the outcome of the lecture was the pronouncement that certainly the lecturer possessed a brilliant imagination. But when I look back at what I said, how feebly and inadequately did I describe what might take place and the twenty years that have elapsed have shown a progress such as I could not have imagined, so much greater has been the final outcome than the feeble prophecy ventured by me to the audience on the occasion named. But in the matter of electric smelting we do not draw upon the imagination, but present to you hard facts and well established figures.

But to reap the benefit of the experiments made at Sault Ste. Marie means intelligent enterprise in the expenditure of capital. The Government has furnished you with facts on which to base a sound judgment as to the feasibility of commercially engaging in the manufacture of pig iron by the electric process; with that its duty to the nation is done, it remains for you business men to apply, perfect and profit.

(April 2nd, 1906.)

The Imperial Crisis.

PROFESSOR STEPHEN LEACOCK OF MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I shall not preface my remarks with any apologetic explanation as to the brevity of half an hour in which to discuss so large a subject. We all recognize that thirty-five minutes is necessarily insufficient to properly deal with a subject such as I have selected to-day. Perhaps, too, an apology should be forthcoming had I needlessly startled you in my selection, "The Imperial Crisis." Yet I feel the wording is essentially appropriate at the present time. As we glance with retrospective eye over the past and seek to peer eagerly into the declouded future we must recognize that we stand on the brink of one of those epochs of national life, when the fortunes of peoples are made or marred.

The general political situation of the British Empire to-day is an anomaly. It is inconsistent with her future destiny. The present political and commercial relations among her component parts are no longer adequate, by reason of the growth and fast increasing wealth and importance of the greater colonies, Canada being the predominant partner in the Imperial system. We are doing wisely then, as Canadians, to take anxious thought for the future imperial policy, and the external and internal relations of the vast Empire of which we form an important part.

The great states of the world must more and more come to the front, stand foremost among the world's nations. Banish the term "little England" as belonging to a class that includes little Switzerland and little Belgium. The British Empire is the greatest of all the world's states. Its nearest rivals are Russia and Germany and the United States. But the British Empire is phenomenal—it is unique in human history. It embraces a territory much over 12,000,000 square miles—call it 13,000,000 square miles; it has a population of over 300,000,000 souls. Yet it confronts one difficulty, both vital and dangerous. It is not in the real and true sense a united Empire. It is different from Germany and the

United States in that it is not a single and consolidated territory. They are one commercially and politically, in policy and in power. The British Empire comprises a multiplicity of peoples; it is a great house divided against itself. It is commercially split into several tariff countries and in military and naval matters strategically divided, the burden of the whole falling upon the mother country. It cannot hope to be permanent, it cannot hope to stand divided commercially, and in military, naval and political structure. For the commercial aspect alone the tendency now is to commercial sunderance.

I am not going to talk on preferential trade. The brains of this Club must often, I know, have been saturated with this subject, and I am not going to surcharge your intelligence with further injections. We have heard much, too, of a revenue tariff. The British Empire comprises not only Britain, but Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, the Barbadoes, the islands scattered the seas over. Each is moving, unconsciously perhaps towards a sunderance and severance of interest. In military and naval questions this is distinct. Yet the people of the British Empire are a maritime and naval people. The sea is alike the severance and union of the British Empire. The cornerstone of Imperial policy is to hold command of the sea, yet the whole burden of naval maintenance falls upon what is territorially the smallest part of the Empire. The burden falls on the mother country, increasing with every decade, increasing with every budget. Towards the Imperial navy Great Britain contributes \$184,000,000 each year; Canada contributes nothing, for I do not call the maintenance of a couple of dockyards a naval contribution. The people of England are taxed to almost the last penny they are able to pay, because they aim to live up to the traditional record that the British navy must be equivalent to those of the best two militant nations of Europe—of the world, for Japan and the United States are formidable in their strength. The United States and Germany are great consolidated nations and united peoples and their naval estimates are now almost equal to those of Great Britain—and they will go on increasing.

The German Emperor William has declared that Germany must hold the "trident of the seas," and Roosevelt, while he vaunts nothing about the "trident," whatever that may be, grasps "the big stick" of a similar character. If Britain is to continue to hold "the trident" and fear nothing from "the big stick," there must be some change in our Imperial policy. Colonial contributions can alone save the situation.

Ah, but, the objector claims, we don't share in the Empire's council. True, and there is a growing necessity for some such form of Imperial reconstruction. But the initiative must come from us. The mother country has learned the lesson of non-interference; she will not force new conditions upon us. If we cling to the present conditions

then it is our own fault—and ours alone. The mother country will meet us only if we take the first step.

Oh, but, the cynics and pessimists and doubting Thomases tell us, we are wiser if we remain in the path of quiet development. It is a natural evolution for which we must wait.

That word "evolution" is responsible for much intellectual blundering. I would sometimes wish, if it were not for the sake of science, that Darwin and his fellows had never made or "evolved" their startling theory. Evolution indeed! It seems to be the chief and current explanation of anything and everything we cannot understand or otherwise explain. Ourselves, our faculties—nay, our very relationships—are now "evolved," and thus is set down as the solution of our past and the guide to our future.

The error of the past, however, can do us little harm, but the future error is of grave danger. We are told to sit still and do nothing, to become pacific spectators of our own growth. Whatever is, is right, therefore we need make no effort for betterment or change.

Surely this is a serious mistake. We seek growth; we seek development; we seek progress. Then let us make it—not merely watch it. We are aware that many seemingly insurmountable difficulties beset any serious effort at Imperial reconstruction. Yet it seems to me that Imperial federation must be the ultimate goal. I would I could look forward to a new central Imperial parliament, alongside of which are ranged the colonial parliaments and the parliament for England—one supreme and law-making Imperial house and beneath it a series of local parliaments. This is the ideal as I view it. The difficulty arises in determining what it would involve to the English people themselves. Would they welcome a new parliament such as described with its subordinate houses? Would they consent to a delineation of its powers? Would they be prepared for the adoption of a written constitution and the banishment of all legal technicalities, precedent and tradition? What complications of ultra vires legislation and limited powers would arise?

The great disadvantage thus created would be the necessity of deliberate political construction or reconstruction. The British people have a horror of the radical change. They represent now the rescued wisdom of their forefathers.

If Canada were the only one to be consulted we might look forward to an earlier realization of our plan. We have fashioned our own Dominion and Provincial systems of government and we are proud of our handiwork. But in England they would view aghast the laying of unhallowed hands on the British constitution and having fun with it. They fear we might be like the small boy who thoroughly enjoyed the taking of his father's gold watch to pieces but met his difficulties when he sought to put it together again.

Yet surely we may fittingly ask for proper representation in the British parliament and voice our sentiments there. There are some 670 members there at the present. To these let 166 be added from the colonies. This would be in the proportion of four to one, the population of the colonies being some ten millions to forty-two millions in the United Kingdom. The mother country would not spurn our requests. The memory of the great American revolution still lives. Objectors will, of course, put forth the statement that the colonial few would become swamped and descend into little satellites in the British house. We cannot realize all we wish now, but we will develop with our growth.

Let us for a moment contrast the position of Canada in the Imperial system with that of Ireland. Canada has a population of 6,000,000 souls. This population is rapidly increasing—so much so that the 100,000,000 mark is within the possibilities of this century. Ireland has a population of 4,000,000, and for the past 50 years her population has been steadily declining. For the past 20 years—nay, almost 50 years—Ireland has been making trouble in the Imperial system; we have made none. Our future is in front of us; theirs—part of it, at least—is behind them. Yet for 20 years Ireland has made and unmade British ministries; for 20 years the Irish members in the House of Commons have been the arbiters of Imperial policy. Surely we have the vastly greater claim to make trouble or help things along in the British system.

There is a doctrine which some may look upon as long ago discredited, but there must be great advantage in securing an engine with power to control even the outlying points of the British Empire. Sir Frederick Pollock argued for an Imperial intelligence department as an indirect means of federating the Empire. We should have this outside of the delegation to the British parliament. The representation should not be merely advisory; it should have the power to tax and control. It should have a modified scheme of Imperial policy. Take such vexed questions as tariff relations and naval defence. If the parts of the Empire are co-operating all will go well. Then in the stern actualities of war we can count upon spontaneous parallel action.

The Imperial representatives should have the power to tax us. Some of you may think it is the ravings of a mad house to levy more taxes upon us. But in private life how much do we owe to the whip and spur of necessity? It is the things we can do or not do, as we see fit, what are left undone. How many of us would, left to ourselves, mail \$1.00 to the British Admiralty each year as a freewill contribution? Yet none of us would refuse it coming in the proper form and with Canadian representation.

The time has come for some form of Imperial reconstruction and consolidation. The greatest responsibility rests upon Canada as the premier colony. The mother country will never drive her colonies. The move must come from them, and it is fitting that it should initiate with

the greatest and major colony. We can no longer take refuge in passive inactivity. We must now take thought for the future—we must build before the storm; we must have the roof before the rain. When trouble comes the Empire must be ready to meet it.

We cannot longer maintain our colonial status. If we take no action along the course outlined we must drift in the other direction. There is no alternative.

The forces of sectionalism with their narrow outlook threaten our future. Let us have done with the cry of Canada first. In that puny gospel lie all the seeds of future disruption and ruin. We cannot be an independent country. We must become the citizens of a wider country and the children of a greater fatherhood. Separated, our far-flung Confederation would snap under its own weight. We know that underneath the surface of the political life of our country there smoulder the fires of racial and religious antagonism. Our connection with the British Empire is the real tie that binds us together. And let it be the consecrated aim of every patriot to develop us into one single, united Canadian people.

(February 19th, 1906.)

Duty Toward the Insane.

BY HON. W. J. HANNA, PROVINCIAL SECRETARY.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—When last week I received your kind invitation to be present here to-day accompanied as it was by your voluntary offer to listen for a few minutes to a talk from me on whatever subject might come in sight, I felt at once that I should not be doing my duty to the public if I allowed such recklessness on your part to go unpunished. I shall now impose the penalty, I hope it will not appear too heavy for this first offence.

There are many important subjects in sight—some of them very important. Our water-powers are a great subject, having regard to what they should mean to Ontario as an industrial centre, advancing step by step with the mighty interests of the West. Or one might mention forestry—a subject which must not be too long ignored, if we would discharge our duty to posterity. Amazing figures could be given as to the extent of our timber wealth, present and potential. Our mining interests, too, are now attracting world wide attention and present wonderful possibilities. These are but a few of the subjects from the fruitful field that lies immediately about us. I have surveyed as well that other field in which flourished the Morocco question, the Plumbers' Combine,

the Roosevelt wedding, and the Yonge street bridge—but I have refrained from all these and have chosen what is to me a much more formidable subject than any of them—one which thrusts itself upon me with the regularity of breakfast, one which may be thought of little moment only by those who have scarcely thought of it at all.

HISTORY OF THE QUESTION.

At Confederation the wisdom of the Fathers evolved a plan, the pivot of which was the assumption by the Federal authorities of all the debts of the old provinces and of all their indirect taxes as well. The result was that the individual provinces commenced life free from debt, but without the power to levy indirect taxes. The loss of the indirect taxing power worked some hardship in the east, but Ontario, notwithstanding the limitation of these sources of income, found herself on the morning of Confederation abounding in affluence almost without precedent in history. Here was a province with more direct revenue than sufficed for its ordinary needs. The occupation of its early Governments was not to sweep the horizon for subjects to tax, but to look about for suitable objects of which the money of the province might with advantage be spent. The things that commended themselves were: (1) Aid to railways, and (2) Relief of municipal taxation and local responsibility, which includes our schools, roads and charities. The Government continued the pursuit of the first object beyond the disposition of many of the people to follow, and in pursuit of the second it gave birth to the problem about which I am going to speak to you to-day.

Don't mistake me; I am not speaking as a member of a government. I am not going into a political talk, but one dealing with a social question of great importance, viz.: the care of our mentally affected, and the question whether a system cannot be devised which will have all the efficiency of our present method as towards the afflicted themselves and yet which will not be a direct incentive to the shirking of obvious duties on the part of the individual and the local community.

WHAT PRINCIPLE SHOULD GOVERN?

In my three years in the Legislature I have seen requests for aid to individuals and communities to the full extent of the object to be served, and it has occurred to me to ask:—What principle should underlie the giving of aid in such cases? Every time the Government relieves the individual or the community from the discharge of a duty which from its nature that individual or community would be better for discharging, or can discharge better than the Government, that Government, though its present financial aid may be very pleasant, does that individual or community a wrong. It encourages the relaxation

of effort, lets down the moral tone and saps the virility of the recipient. This applies not only to the working of the charitable institutions, but to other work as well. It is, indeed, a principle of too general application. We look at colonization roads, and it applies there. There are districts now rich enough to at least help to build their own roads, in which a suggestion to that effect would receive scant encouragement. We look at some branches connected with the agricultural department, and it applies there. But I propose to touch the question to-day only as it is applicable to the care of the mentally afflicted class.

We have in the institutions for the insane in this Province 6,000 people. These are maintained at an annual cost of quite \$1,000,000, if we allow anything at all for capital account. For the maintenance of but 1,200 of these (or about 20 per cent.) is anything contributed by the patients themselves or by those legally or morally responsible for their care and comfort, and for these 1,200 the total amount collected for the year ending September 30 last, was less than \$115,000; which is the highest point yet reached, and much of this was contributed by the working classes, who are, as a class, the least disposed to avoid payment. This means that 88 per cent. of the cost of maintenance is defrayed by the Province.

INSANITY A DISEASE.

It has been said that governments owe it to themselves as a measure of self-protection to take care of this class. While acknowledging the duty I would place it on far higher grounds. As a measure of humanity and practical Christianity, I would say we owe the afflicted the best and tenderest care we can give them, and if it comes to choosing between the best system and one less efficient to this class, I would unhesitatingly advocate the most efficient system, regardless of expense, and if the province were polled on the question I am satisfied this would be the almost universal verdict. For people are realizing to-day, as they never did before, that insanity is not an offence; it is an affliction. That it is not a disgrace; it is a disease.

There are those who claim that much has been saved to our citizens by the mere fact that we started in the business of caring for this class on a centralized plan, and that central control of these institutions, as distinguished from local or municipal control, whether by cities or counties or groups of counties, has proved itself better in many ways. The central plan should result in the decreased cost of maintenance per head, it affords room for more modern methods and for healthy rivalry between institutions, it admits of better service and better food, clothing and care, it admits of better accounting and auditing, better discipline amongst employes, more chances for promotion, more opportunity furnished for comparison and mutual improvement. The central

plan is superior to the localized one at many points, but it is greatly behind it in one, and that a most important one, and it is this: That the central system destroys that careful oversight of each individual case which is the distinctive feature of local interest and control. It is because of this inherent defect of the central control that we have this anomaly; our system, which is the best and cheapest per head, is the one that produces the greatest number of heads.

While efficient central control may be the better for the sufferers, and may be the more economical when the expense is calculated at per head, yet without local supervision to prevent abuses, it acts as a perfect drag-net with the meshes all too small. It draws in all the cases that should come in, together with very many cases which should not. On the other hand, a municipally managed institution might be administered in too parsimonious a spirit. In such institutions efficiency and small cost might be mistakenly regarded as synonymous terms. Admission would be made too difficult and curable cases might be neglected until they became incurable, and persons who ought to be under seclusion would go on propagating their kind, and, generally, immurement in one of these places would come to be looked upon as a greater calamity than going to prison.

The superiority of the localized system consists in the fact that the municipal officers have personal knowledge of every case, and of the ability of the relatives to pay, and whether they should be made to pay. In this respect the Ontario system is deplorably defective; and could not be made effective except at the cost of maintaining a horde of local officials, practically inquisitors, who would necessarily have to get the most of their information from municipal officials and others, whose sympathies would naturally lie in the direction of protecting those responsible.

INSANITY INCREASING.

Our system makes it easy to magnify the mental condition of the individual cases and to establish the inability of the relatives to do anything in support of the sufferers, it may be justly described as the finest on earth to produce a constant and increasing supply of patients. It is not merely patriotic pride to describe our population as among the soundest and healthiest on earth. Yet the number of mentally afflicted in our institutions is increasing at the rate which would be alarming indeed if an explanation of the increase were not forthcoming. In the service given in our institutions and the inherent unsoundness of our method of admitting patients and of collecting maintenance is to be found the partial explanation. What are the figures? Notwithstanding that we are among the sanest of peoples, and that there is little admixture of race among us—said by alienists to be a fruitful source of insan-

ity—we find that while we had but one insane person in each 1,188 of population in 1871, and in each 707 in 1881, and in each 613 in 1893 and in each 474 in 1901, we have one in each 340 in 1905; while in Quebec there is to-day only one in each 450; in New Brunswick one in each 460; in Nova Scotia one in each 850.

THE SITUATION STATED.

That is to say, according to the above figures insanity is three times what it was in 1871 and over twice what it was in 1881, and is rapidly increasing; and there is to-day nearly one-third more lunacy in Ontario than in Quebec and New Brunswick and two and a quarter times as much in Ontario as in Nova Scotia. It is useless to blame emigration and immigration for this state of affairs. The four Provinces suffer and benefit equally from those causes, and as to the plea that immigrants furnish more than their share of the insane, this is only very slightly the case, the fact being that the native born constitute 87 per cent. of the whole population and 80 per cent. of the patients; and this difference is partially accounted for by the fact that the immigrant population of our institutions is entirely made up of the friendless of a class which, if native-born, would have friends to take care of them. While capable of partial explanation, these figures raise at once the question: To what extent is the policy on which our expenditure is based responsible, and what is the remedy? The trouble with all Government help is that the help is so pleasant to take that it is apt to create an appetite for more. After one experience of Government help, people come to rely upon it instead of upon their own exertions. If we had not begun by aiding railways so liberally, without a doubt another method of financing the building of railways would have been evolved here, as it was in American States, not a whit richer or more enterprising than we. Is Government aid to-day given in such a way as to kill individual effort, and can it be given in such a way as to stimulate it? Had the plan originally adopted, or since pursued, retained in some way the assistance of the municipality in determining who are properly admissible and who should pay, and to what extent it would have enlisted the help of thousands of persons having intimate knowledge of the cases, who would all have been interested in some degree in seeing that the system was not abused. One of the most conspicuous consequences of the plan adopted is that it has developed a system which, however humane and efficient it may be, has a pauperizing tendency. It deprives the communities and individuals of all the incentives to the exercise of that oversight which only they can give, and supplies them with potent, and in some cases irresistible, inducements to charge upon the Province the care of the senile, the destitute and the weak, who, by any stretch of imagination can be held to be defective in intellect. No such complaint exists in the

cases of Houses of Refuge and of non-pay hospital patients. Does the local knowledge and interest in these cases furnish the explanation?

I have given you the situation that presents. I have stated the problem. I ask the Canadian Club to solve it. I impose but one condition, and that is—that your solution shall not result in increased burdens on the municipalities.

(April 9th, 1906.)

The Relation of Physical Training to Modern Civilization.

DR. GEORGE J. FISHER, SECRETARY OF THE ATHLETIC LEAGUE OF
Y.M.C.A.'S OF NORTH AMERICA, NEW YORK.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Canadian Club,—I assure you that I appreciate it both as an honor and a privilege to have the opportunity of addressing your club. I have heard of you and your splendid success and the esprit de corps which characterizes your organization, and your rival clubs at Ottawa and Montreal spoke most highly of the members of this organization.

As your chairman has said the subject of my address does seem a somewhat complicated topic. I think you are fortunate in the arrangement of your programmes to prescribe a thirty minute limit. It was a cautious thing to do, for I may perhaps hope that you can survive that time no matter how dry the talk may be. I am reminded of the man in somewhat similar circumstances who was about to be introduced. The chairman leaned over towards him and asked quietly, "shall we allow the members to enjoy themselves a little longer, or shall I introduce you now."

Ambassador Choate used to distinguish between the respective ends of a barber and a sculptor by declaring that the barber curls up and dyes and the sculptor makes faces and busts. Either end would I imagine be preferable to being talked to death. It is told of Admiral Côté that he went to pay a sympathetic call at the bereaved home of a recently deceased friend. He was anxious to say some good things of the man, but didn't know exactly what to say or where to begin. Finally he called the young hopeful to his knee. "Bobby," he asked, "what were the last words of your beloved father?" Bobby was puzzled for a moment and then he looked up and replied, "Please, he did not have any last words. Mother was with him to the end." So I fear today I will have the last word.

It has been said of the modern city that it is a biological furnace, because the changed environment in modern living consumes so much of vitality and power. The city is a new institution, altogether foreign to the fundamental conditions of life, yet a majority of the people live their lives there. And the cities to-day abound in danger practices to which earnest thought should be directed.

First there is the school with its physical inactivity, its desk limit on the child for five hours every day, developing sad results in curvatures of the spine and other diseases.

Also with the city has come the factory. In the factories of Canada half a million are employed, many of the workers standing in one position and using but few of the muscle groups. They become automatic, specialized and really physically deformed.

With the cities, too, comes the great curse of child labor and on this let me give you some Canadian figures. Your census shows that in 1881 there were 19,000 children under 16 years of age employed in Canadian factories; in 1891 there were 26,000, but I was very glad to see and Canada should be greatly congratulated upon the fact that the last census showed only the employment of 12,000 under 16 years old. This is a decrease of half during the last ten years and if the proportion keeps up Canada will have no child labor at the end of the present decade. This is the high moral stand to take. Read "The Cry of the Children" by Spargo and your heart will bleed for them and the physical deterioration and moral degradation that results from this terrible abuse.

There has been a great increase in the sedentary pursuits of our business men in the cities. They are confined to their offices, pressing buttons and answering telephone calls without moving from their desks. It is a most uncomfortable condition and brings about the lack of vitality and the lack of well-being in our business men.

I study your history and I see that you came from hardy races. The blood that was poured into your veins came from the good old stock of the English, the Irish, the Scotch, the Dutch, the German and the Scandinavian. You have inherited great bodies. Your men are the best I have ever seen and I've travelled north, south, east and west over the North American continent. Your forefathers developed in an environment where physical activity predominated and you have gained by this environment. Yet you in the cities are now living in an environment the direct opposite of that of your fathers. It is a serious thing this living in an artificial environment.

It means this, that your chests are larger than you need, that your lungs are bigger, that your hearts are larger and your blood vessels wider than you need for your present occupations. It means that you do not breathe deep enough, you do not exercise enough, you have not that feeling of well-being that your fathers had. You are storing and not throwing off the poisonous matter in the physical system, you are

carrying too long and not exchanging the cells of the body as much as you should. There has been a tremendous increase in mortality statistics of deaths from diabetes and diseases of the kidneys caused by faulty metabolism, that is the lack of muscular exercise and the failure of the body to throw off certain dead tissue.

Very few of our business men really know the joy of living. They are slaves to business, they whip their bodies into line, working at all hours and under all conditions. The greater number are living on their surplus vitality. It is business, first and last. It breaks in on their family life; it breaks in on their recreation. They know not the joy that comes from having a good body and good health. Each man should have his recreation; the young man his athletics and his football, the older man his golf or something not so vigorous. So we can retain the spring of step, the alertness in the eye and the vigor of body.

I have been studying again your census, for I want to speak with authority from your own figures. Your population has increased to five and a quarter millions. Of this three and a quarter millions are in the rural districts and two millions are housed in the cities. This is a source for congratulation. But from 1891 to 1901 your population increased 550,000. Only 50,000 of this 550,000 increase, however, is in the rural districts. The cities gained 500,000. They are growing ten times as fast as the rural districts. You must provide for this change of environment. Bradstreet credits you with 200,000 increase by immigration last year. Of these I understand 130,000 are from the United States. I refer to this because it is a very desirable class of immigration of a higher grade in mentality. I read in your papers of the fast-forming cities in your western country and your metropolises like Toronto. In the United States in 90 years they have built up 400 cities, but 110 years ago the city population was only four per cent. of the whole. To-day it is nearly 60 per cent. In Massachusetts only 9 per cent. of the population live in the country and in New York state only 27 per cent. In reference to this I would say provide now for the physical recreation of the children yet to be born. Don't wait like we did in New York till the playgrounds cost fortunes. Cast your eye about you now. Every city and every municipality should be provided with its public playgrounds. It means not only the physical regeneration but the moral exaltation of a higher standard of boys and girls and young men.

In Scotland they appointed a very learned commission to study the whole subject and report upon it. It was found that the Scottish farmer average 5 feet 10 inches in height, while the residents of the cities averaged 5 feet 6½ inches. The farmers were four inches taller. The criminal averaged 5 feet 5½ inches, and the imbecile, the illiterate and the idiotic averaged 5 feet 4 8-10 in. Surely this shows the relation not only in physique but in mentality. The farmer weighed 173 pounds, the city man 145 pounds, and the imbecile 123 pounds.

Once I gave this illustration when a man who was quite short sat right in front of me. He took exception to it, and of course it would be unfair to apply it to the individual. Some of us are short and some tall, but this was an estimated and reckoned average and is significant. Of course there are other forms of measurement, such as size of the chest and length of the trunk. Yet it shows that where the environment is poor and the people do not indulge in physical work or exercise there is degeneration.

There is another fact, upon which I am burning up in zeal, which you are not facing as you should. It is the treatment of your great school population. The boys and girls should be constantly enjoying active exercise. Schools have been called the society for sitting still, and the young folks are seated for hours at their desks. Along with this has come much that is bad. If we are going to have healthy children we must pay attention to their physical needs, we must secure a system of physical education in the public schools.

To Canada belongs the honor of first promoting physical training in the colleges. Follow it up in the public schools. Keep thinking about it. I had a conference with Sir Frederick Borden of your military bureau in Ottawa the day before yesterday and he, I understand, is planning some system of physical training for the military schools.

A child depends upon its play for much of its development. I remember a child who came from Palestine to our great west. This was the only child I ever knew who didn't play. One day I took him to a gymnasium. I asked him what he played. He looked wonderingly at the gymnasium exercise going on and stopped still, saying pathetically, "Sir, do you know we never play in our country." I understood it then. There he was, a boy of sixteen and no higher than that, with narrow chest and stooped shoulders and yellow, wizened face. He had no knowledge of the joy of play. That was the kind of environment in which he had developed. I urge you, gentlemen, to provide opportunities for the children to play.

I made still another study of your census reports. I wanted to take care to be correct and I saw from your mortality tables for the year that there had died from tuberculosis 9,709. The dread white plague was your greatest instrument of death. Next came pneumonia with 8,000 deaths on its record and typhoid fever had 1,900. And there was a great increase in deaths from diseases of the nerves, the digestion, the chest and the circulation. Yet these are all preventable diseases, due largely to modern conditions of living. Let me illustrate. Your greatest enemy is the great white plague. In the city of New York we organized a society for the prevention of tuberculosis and by a system of education reduced the death rate in a single year by 40 per cent. In ten years there had been a decrease in the death rate of the country at large of 59 8-10 per cent. So you see it is possible by a scientific

and intelligent campaign to rid ourselves of this terrible scourge. Pneumonia now carries off more of our people, though with yours tuberculosis still leads.

We established a health farm in Denver in connection with our Y.M.C.A. work and the superintendent made a very striking statement concerning the patients sent there. He said that of the forty young men under treatment for tuberculosis, not one should have ever come there. It was no case of hereditary, it was downright carelessness in living. After thirteen years of work among the young men I have reached the conclusion that the great majority are absolutely careless and pernicious in their mode of living. We must bring about some method of educating them to the laws of hygiene and sanitation and health. We should have courses of training in our public schools.

May I say one thing as a physician. I belong to an association with a tremendous name, the Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis. This society is fighting impurity. There is so much of loathsome disease in every place that it has become our greatest menace. It is an awful disease, dangerous to society and to health. It is the real cause of much of the so-called race suicide. In women's diseases we find that 80 per cent. are caused by that poisonous germ of which they have been the innocent victims. This is the cause of so much sterility, of the race suicide alarm.

I seek not to be fanatical upon the subject, but I believe our health officers should be called upon to place upon the disease the same stern mandate they apply to measles and scarlet fever. The disease should be publicly announced and the people quarantined. It must be stopped some time—and soon.

Physical training is not only related to physical power, it is closely related to the intellect and the morals. Half of the brain is a contradiction of muscles. The motor centres of the brain are great storage batteries. You may have the ability, if you have taken proper precautions to call upon this storage, this reserve force, in time of need. It is not striking that the country fellows so often come to town and carry off the prizes. Even in the lower animals the scale of intelligence is graduated on the number of possible muscular contractions. The elephant, which has its trunk in addition to its feet and tail, possesses special intelligence; the monkey that can use its hands and feet, and the parrot with its beak in addition to its feet or claws.

Take this thought and then I will close. Half of the body's weight is made up of muscle. I don't mean big muscles, but developed ones. I would not want Sandow's huge muscles. I wouldn't know what to do with them if I had them. I would have to eat more to sustain them, though that would be an easy matter if I were invited here often.

What we should seek to develop is that consciousness of power which is worth a lot. I have felt fit in training for the football team, so well, so sound that I felt I could "chaw" the whole team up myself. That feeling is worth while. That feeling of strength, of consciousness of power will make the lawyer a better lawyer, the preacher a better preacher and the business man a sounder business man. It makes men do things.

In closing I must again congratulate you on your splendid organization and the broad spirit which enables you to listen to arguments on all sides of questions. May I hope you will use your efforts to bring about a physical and vital advancement which will make possible bodily health, strength and power.

(January 22nd, 1906.)

Paper and Slides on Civic Improvement.

By J. P. HYNES.

Toronto as it is to-day is known to us all, beautifully situated on the lake shore, the Humber, Toronto and Ashbridges Bays form its water front, from which it gradually rises to the high land on the north, where the Rosedale ravines join the Don Valley on the east and Black Brook ravines join the Humber Valley on the west, practically forming a girdling of natural scenic beauty around the city.

Toronto is well kept and well treed, has Queen's Park in the centre, High Park in the west, and Riverdale Park in the east. It is growing rapidly in population, wealth and beauty, so that one may feel constrained to ask what is the Guild of Civic Art advocating and why.

Now the Guild of Civic Art does not wish to assume to be the critic of the past for much has been done and done well, which makes us all proud of Toronto, but rather to point the present opportunity to procure a rich heritage for the future, and not the far distant future either.

At present Humber Bay is reached by a road impassible with either dust or mud the whole year around. The railroad whistles, clatters and smokes on one side, while the bay itself on the other makes periodical inroads of destruction on this already decrepit highway.

Toronto Bay has been cut off from the city by all the modern improvements of trade and transportation, and when reached is found to be a civic cesspool, the island on the other side of the bay has never had its possibilities touched and the same may be said of Ashbridges Bay. Looking at the city itself we soon see that one must travel two

sides of a triangle to go from one given point to another, that there are few through traffic roads and no park ways.

Yonge Street below Gerrard Street still has many old low two-story buildings, now converted into shops. In their day no doubt Yonge Street seemed a wide thoroughfare, but the street cars came, then the telegraph poles, later the telephone and trolley poles, and the trolley itself until now at Queen Street and lower traffic is quite congested in this really narrow street, which has just been invaded by its first skyscraper. Your imagination will easily picture to you the shadowy and narrow appearance of Yonge Street, when a few more such structures are erected.

Under the Guild of Civic Art a plan of the city has been made suggesting remedies for the defects we have just noted, and before explaining this plan some slides will be shewn, illustrating improvement in other cities.

Here followed some sixty slides.

In conclusion the Guild of Civic Art advocates that it is now time that Toronto adopt some such plan as here shown, and have it persisted in, in a manner beyond the caprice of an elective city council. The guild does not rest its argument for this on the ground of art, either, sound as that may be, but on the ground of facilitating and assisting the handling of the rapidly growing volume of business and transportation of the city. On the sanitary advantage of parks and parkways, and light and air in business thoroughfares and on the monetary remuneration that has come to every city that has undertaken civic improvements on a sound business basis.

(March 26th, 1906.)

*seconded by
Walker 1307*

The Criminal and his Needs.

BY W. P. ARCHIBALD, DOMINION PAROLE OFFICER.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—I regard it as a great privilege to have the opportunity of addressing this club upon a subject which I believe to be a vital interest to our national life. The manner in which any country deals with its criminal classes is a matter affecting the standard of the nation's morality. To cure criminality as far as we are able should be the earnest aim.

I believe criminals can be reformed and rehabilitated as social units, and doubt it no more than I doubt the sun shines. The treatment and prevention of crime is undoubtedly one of the greatest problems of

modern civilization. Criminals, as a rule, are the severest judges of human nature. If a man is spurious they will find it out more quickly than anyone else, and will, consequently, treat him with the contempt he deserves. On the other hand, they will take kindly to practical advice and help when it comes from a source which they can rely upon, and show gratitude for the efforts made in their behalf. All reformatory laws are a progressive science, things of growth and development to meet the varying needs of civilization.

The making men better in the penitentiaries is the same work exactly as making them better outside. It is work upon character. The reformation of bad men anywhere which leaves their character unchanged, amounts to nothing inside or outside of a prison. So far then as penitentiaries, organizations, or any systems that are trying wisely to make men better, they are doing essentially the same work, and it is done under laws, and these laws are the same in operation everywhere. They know no distinction of persons, or of times, or of places, than the law of gravitation itself. Nineteen centuries of Christian history has developed a science of character building. The work of making bad men better is the most divine art or science that is followed by anyone in this world, and this art is ruled by its own laws which no sect, organization, or people, can claim a monopoly of, and, this art or science is the same in operation and effect in the church or in the penitentiaries. After all there is but one force or power that can transform life. It is the getting rid of the old and poor mental and spiritual fibre, and the developing of the new fibre of a better life, by the replacing or recreation of new paths of thought, aspirations and ambitions of the higher and nobler life. We must not forget that sixty years ago society's attitude towards its imprisoned criminals was indifferent. The governing principle was to have the greatest security with the least expense. Good men and women looked on absolutely unconscious of the wrongs inflicted on individual criminals without any regard to the injury thus inflicted on society. A few strong humane men undertook the cause of the weak and the erring; they looked into causes and conditions producing crime, as well as the needs of the criminal, and their toil and research has led up to many reforms in our prison administrations, also in the curative agencies now in vogue in our federal penal institutions. Through their research and experience we have at last learned that criminals immured in a prison are men, and that when we are dealing with units, as in dealing with prisoners they are as much a part of society as free men, and in dealing with influences that effect them we deal with influences that will help us control ourselves and our children.

Penology has of late years been elevated to the position of a science, which not only considers the cause of men inside the prison walls, but also everything that will aid in keeping men out of prison whether edu-

cational or legislative, and as a science it is now recognized in the leading universities of the Dominion, and the teachers of sociology are the teachers of many of its phases.

The attitude of society has also undergone a radical change during the past few years. It is not all we desire it to be, but there is good cause for hopefulness in the future work. Society is no longer the factor of an avenger toward the criminal, enforcing the requirements of "an eye for an eye." On the contrary the rule or principle now involved is that of self-protection and correction. If any person encroaches upon the rights and privileges of others it is the right of society or its agents to deal with the offender in any way that may seem best to stop his encroachments.

When found necessary the delinquent is placed in custody for a stated time, trusting that his conduct will give the assurance that he may sometime be trusted again outside. But the delinquent is entitled in the meantime to treatment that shall not degrade his manhood, but provoke to effort and restore. In short he is a ward of the state and should be treated in the same way that a wise and prudent parent treats his erring child.

It does not require that the delinquent should be coddled with feather beds or served with a menu card equal to the King Edward at his meals, as some mere sentimentalists or rose-water theorists would have our prison authorities adopt, but, on the contrary, the conditions of living under imprisonment should be as hard and as exacting as the discipline you find enforced on a British ship of war. Every comfort the prisoner received in prison should be fairly earned by his good conduct and close application to industry. One of the initial principles of our penitentiaries is to make the delinquent feel and clearly understand, that crime of any character is hateful to both God and man and that the way of the transgressor is hard.

Under the rule of self-protection, however, reformation is far more effective than undue severity acting as a deterrence to crime; one lasts while fear is on, while reformation is often permanently effected through strong and humane corrective agencies.

The parole system deals most effectively with young and first offenders who have not revealed or developed any special depravity. They can, by their industry and conduct, apply for the minister's consideration and receive the benefit of this far-reaching restorative agency.

This system has demonstrated that 87 per cent. of the men released on parole, during the six years of operation, have been restored to good citizenship and are now law-abiding.

In this connection it may be pointed out that, since the system was introduced by Hon. David Mills, 1,183 have been allowed out on parole. Of these only 24 have been returned to penitentiary and prison. Seventy licenses have been revoked because of failure to report, and over 600

have been accorded their full liberty. These men are out supporting their families, doing their part in the world's work, whereas in gaol they would each be costing the country some \$250 per year. The population of the penitentiaries is now 1,359, compared with 1,314 last year and 1,415 and 1,430 in the years preceding. For 15 years there has been no increasing of the criminal classes, despite the large influx of European immigration.

Youths, who have violated law, have, through the juvenile courts, been saved from the publicity of their crime, and through the suspended sentence system have been saved from the contaminating associations of a prison and graduated and trained into citizenship.

On the other hand experience has clearly shown that there are criminals who, thus far, have proved themselves incorrigibles. Some I have known congenital in their character, or moral idiots. They are criminals for crime's sake, and are dangerous to society and themselves while at large. I have had men tell me on their discharge from prison that they were going to follow the "graft" and despise the honest work opened up to them when offered this practical help.

Prison construction has wonderfully advanced during late years. They are clean and sanitary. The industrial plant which give so many men helpful employment, is one of the strongest factors I know of; not only teaching new trades and industry, but most helpful in producing the inspiration of a better life.

The moral, educational and spiritual influences brought to bear on the inmates of our penitentiaries by the chaplains, who toil devotedly and continuously for the betterment of the men under their care, produce great good in the after life of these men. I would centre my hopes as the days bring research and experience in the work of prevention rather than build too strongly on our curative agencies in the reduction of the volume of crime in the Dominion. It is true the populations of our penitentiaries are not showing any alarming increase. Take a review of the past fifteen years and you will find numbers about stationary. Taking into consideration the abnormal increase of the last few years from the tides of emigration, also the growing laxity of parental authority, the idleness of many, all conditions not producing the best results one would like to see. That we show no great increase in serious offences, is a fact that gives satisfaction and places the citizens of our Dominion by the operation of their good laws and good government, to a place second to none, with other nations. It is essential to look into some of the causes which produce crime. Our educational system might be improved. Intellectual culture is good, but the individual needs to know how to earn his way in life when the profession fails, or when conditions require him to labor. To know a trade or to be skilled in labor, should be taught to every young man of our Dominion.

Strong drink is a great destruction and the cause of the ruination of thousands annually, yet it is not the cause of crime so much as the effect. Crime drives its victims to drink more often than drink drives to crime. The most dangerous criminals I have met in our penitentiaries do not use liquors at all, as they say they are a hindrance to their profession.

The greatest agency or factor of all our efforts in the re-construction of men, is the religious. We must utilize more often than ever we have heretofore, the religious element which is inherent in the universal heart of man. You may call it what you will, but the fact remains, that man, though he be a mere animal, "whose life is rounded by a little sleep, and ends with the grave," nevertheless he is the only animal whose life is governed by what he believes and who rises and falls in accordance with his mental ideas. Personally, I am a strong believer in the Christian religion, but I have never thought it the only religion worthy of attention. What I do believe firmly, is that religion is inherent with all mortals. By religion I mean the realization of a condition dependent upon and responsible to an invisible being or person outside of themselves which say, "thou shalt" or "thou shalt not." And this is the force that we appeal largely to in dealing with delinquents in our prison administration.

There is no doubt we often get imposed upon. On one occasion I spoke to a man in one of our shelters asking him if he did not want to secure work. "Say," was his reply, "you've got the wrong pig by the ear. Work and I fell out six years ago."

Gaining his confidence he told me how he begged, winding himself into pitiful contortions, he visited the business men at ten o'clock in the morning when they were busiest and sometimes got as much as \$7 in two hours, telling a sad tale.

But such incidents must not discourage us.

We can and may prove ourselves failures through want of co-operation with the great forces of the infinite in any sphere of life and thus be led to take a pessimistic view of things because our ideals are not realized, but one thing remains—our Creator lives and loves, and the tend of humanity is upwards, not downwards. Man's redemption must surely come. As this great globe of ours swings its mighty orbits around the sun and lifts its polar ice crowns into desolving summer, so let our faith believe that in the greater and grander cycles of human destiny, we are gradually approaching the time when the long and icy winters of suffering and burdened humanity are revolving us nearer the golden summer of the "Son of Man." What the poor, the erring and the vicious need is warmth.

There was once on his couch before Christ, a man who could not walk, the bones, the joints, the muscles were all there—perhaps these correspond to a certain extent with our systems or our organizations.

The lame man needed something and that something should come into his life. Strength if you please, and over the strange mystic lines of sympathy nad love, that additional something came into his life, and the man walked. I sometimes think that Christ put that something (some call it religion, some call it göspel, some call it salvation—call it what you may but don't miss it) into one word when he said to burdened and suffering humanity, "Come, come unto me." That "come" is knowledge plus impulse, education plus courage, it is the call to duty plus the strength and assurance of a mighty help to obey the call.

In proportion as the one who said, "come" dwells in men in that proportion men can communicate to the weak and erring of our prisons, the strength they need. I often hear opinions expressed on penological questions that are not founded on logic or fact. Our opinions are generally the fruit of passion or of feelings. Judgment is more often founded on reason. Opinions are sometimes formed on appearances, but judgment on investigation. This is why opinions are often crude, irrelevant and inconsistent, while the decisions of a good judgment are systematic, regular and consistent. It is a good, wise and sound judgment men need to impart to others, to undertake the uplifting of our criminal classes, or the imparting of strength and sympathy to the fallen.

(March 20th, 1906.)

A Comprehensive Plan for Toronto.

BY B. E. WALKER.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Canadian Club,—I came back to Toronto on Thursday last and one of the first telephone calls I received was from a gentleman I had always regarded as a great personal friend. But I got very doubtful when I received his message. He wanted me to address the Canadian Club on Monday or Tuesday evening. When I offered some protest he argued that he felt I could easily say again what had been said before. I didn't have quite such a small idea of the capacity of the Canadian Club, but I have taken him at his word. I really have had no time for preparation and must ask you to bear with me if I read parts of the little I have to say.

Before we can hope to have any plan for the benefit of the city realized we must secure the interest of the young men. They are looking back. We are told that your young men shall see visions and your old men dream dreams. They must not, like Shakespeare's Falstaff, dabble in green fields and think little about the future. This trust in

the future is the greatest impetus to any community. The young men must bear the greater responsibility for they not only look forward to the future but they inherit it.

This trust in the future is one of the essential elements in the successful life of a new country. Yet temporary and ugly conditions are put up with which would never be tolerated in anything but a new country. In the old world men are mainly interested in the thing which they are to enjoy immediately and hence they would not submit to the ugliness of the temporary expedients with which we readily bear. The old world wouldn't put up with what we stand in Toronto. In Mr. Hyne's views we have seen to-night much of what can be—and has been—accomplished. If he had gone over the whole of Europe, city after city, he could have shown you further everywhere beautiful parks completed and perfected. Compare them with the ugliness of Toronto. There are many of these uglinesses. There are the trolley poles, hideous, antique and years out of date, disfiguring our streets. There are the telephone poles, at least I thought so until my friend Mr. Dunstan, whom I see here to-night—convinced me that there were no telephone poles, so they must be telegraph and fire-alarm poles. But I know we could not take a picture of any of the Bank of Commerce buildings without including these unsightly relics of our ugliness. Then there are our wharves and waterfronts, ghastly and disgraceful; our wretched system of street signs and, worse still, our bill boards. It is a pleasure to visit Berlin where no bill boards are allowed. They have what they call circular drums there.

Then there is also the ugliness of the undecorated interiors of our public buildings. Only Canada—and perhaps some new portions of the western United States—would put up with what we have put up with. Pray do not imagine that I do not regard as a virtue our readiness to accept the things which are possible, ugly though they be, until such time as we are able to accomplish better things. It is not always wiser to go without electric lights because we won't have an imperfect system. But the danger lies in becoming contented with temporary conditions. We may bear them for a time, but our faces should be set absolutely against them. We are wealthy and comfortable. Surely it is time for improvement.

In domestic architecture we are in the van. The interiors of our homes, the furniture, the pictures and the gardens evidence our taste and culture. All that man has immediately around him and for which he has immediate responsibility—none have advanced more in the last fifteen or twenty years than us. It is a curious anomaly that all our surroundings, not so immediately annexed to us as our back yards, shame us in every respect as citizens.

Some one may say this is not fair. We have made great improvements in civic matters, in pavements, etc. Of course, and every part

of Canada has improved. The question before us—and we should not seek to escape from it—is, do we in any sense measure with the other cities in the world with which Toronto naturally compares itself? I sometimes question whether we have any civic pride. As long as a question like this, of universal interest, fails to produce our enthusiastic interest and stir up our newspapers, we have it. We are comfortably interested in ourselves. And because of our indifference we do not improve our taste in public matters as we do in domestic matters.

We are ready to shift responsibility on the mayor and aldermen. But we cannot expect the mayor and aldermen to act without a mandate from the people. They will not act in advance of public opinion. This is not an excuse. We all know the condition for ourselves and we are all to blame. If we know that civic improvement ought to be made and don't give the mandate to the council then we must blame ourselves.

Thus far we have been looking at the matter from a purely ethical and aesthetic standpoint; let us view it from a practical point of view. And, after all, are not ethical and aesthetical considerations really practical considerations? We have been interested and edified by the examples of achievement in Europe and America which Mr. Hynes has presented. There is a wonderful and commendable advancement going on everywhere. All the important cities in North America are seeking to do something to beautify and benefit themselves.

Think of what London has done in the matter of parks since the beginning of the century. Kensington Gardens have developed from a district once crowded with four and five storey houses. What would it have meant to London not to have had Kensington and to have had to build new throats for her traffic? Without these, with all her wealth, London would be bankrupt. Think of what Napoleon did for Paris in adding to its charm and beauty; think of Deer Park in the heart of Berlin and the trees stretching along for miles and miles into the country; think of Hamburg and, in fact, all the German cities; go to Scotland and view Glasgow and Edinburgh. Everywhere the lesson is taught. We must develop industrial parks and means of conveyance different from the zig-zag plan of the present time. All who have confidence in the future of this city, who are loyal to Toronto, realize that we must have some such system of parks and some such system of radial roads.

It has its practical—its material—advantages. The people who move will move to nearly outside districts. The value of property in the outside places will increase. That is an ordinary real estate axiom. And we are safe in saying that two prime requisites of great cities and parks and wide thoroughfares for traffic. We cannot escape the fact that in Toronto a great park system must very soon be created. We cannot escape the fact that the transportation of our people and goods in our city, built as it is on the gridiron plan, must very soon be radi-

cally improved. Every year of delay in action must bring sharper and sharper punishment for our folly.

The scheme proposed is not the vagarie of some people who want to see the city beautified, but the awakening of the conscience of Toronto. The plan itself is the result of the labor of many gentlemen and the expenditure of money by a few citizens, no one of whom, so far as I am aware, has any axe to grind. They are very sincere. No more unselfish labor was ever undertaken for the general good of Toronto. Everybody who could help was invited to give criticism. Mr. Urquhart, then mayor, Mr. Jennings, the Toronto Street Railway were all asked to assist. The plan may have defects, it may be perfect or imperfect—that is not now the material thing. The question is: Does it not in some real sense embody the impera-needs of our city? I was glad to read in an evening paper that Mr. Rust said that radial roads were not a new idea and that they were entitled to consideration. Evidence as to the cost of the work should certainly be obtained. It may cost twenty millions or it may not. The primary question is: Are the plans suitable? Are they too ambitious or are they not ambitious enough? Compared with the plans carried out in the United States ours seems a humble plan. And we can afford to do anything any 300,000 people in the world can afford to do.

The Englishmen are profuse in their expressions of admiration for Canadians, Toronto and its people particularly. Nothing astonished them more than the interior of our houses. We are universally well-dressed. There are not 300,000 people better off in the world. We are as intelligent as any—though we don't always show that—and we are quite as well able as any to have the surroundings which it is good for us to have.

There is something irritating about the position so many take when twenty millions is mentioned as the cost, that that disposes of it. If a man suddenly found himself on King Street without clothes, he wouldn't take long to seek shelter and array himself in habiliments. He would not dispute very keenly what it cost; he must have the clothing. We laugh, but our civic position is very similar to that of the man. We want to clothe Toronto.

Do not let us have misapprehensions as to this project. Suppose, after analysis, the plan submitted is declared to be a suitable one. We can afford it if we desire it. We can make it cost as little or as much each year as we choose. If the present plan is defective abridge it or enlarge it just as is found best. See what \$50,000 is doing to Ottawa! It can be done as fast or as slow as we desire.

While not so closely interdependent the enlarging of our streets should have immediate attention. York Street should be widened and money made for everybody with property and interests there. Does anybody doubt but that the widening of York Street, the expropriation

of the property on each side and its re-sale can be accomplished without cost to the city. Money would be made in the transaction. Clearly, too, the cost of the radials will be infinitely less than that of any other system of bringing about ease in transportation. It will doubtless cost a lot of money, but we are not going to do it in one fell swoop. It will be spread over a number of years.

As to the machinery for carrying out such a plan. We sometimes call ourselves more democratic than the United States and much opposition may be evidenced to the suggestion of a commission. The name is like a red rag to many. And yet to say that it should be governed by the whole city would be an insult to Toronto. The mayor and aldermen wouldn't pretend that they had the time. My personal opinion is that the city should seek legislation approving of the plan generally and setting forth how a commission is to be created to carry it out. The commission could be appointed by the Legislative Assembly partly to be elected by the people. In any event a commission will give continuity of purpose and a body that will keep its own counsel.

We must stir up our civic representatives to action. Toronto should issue a mandate to the men at the city hall that they cannot be elected at all except on that basis. And I would like to see the plan approved by the Legislature in such a way that no one but the commission could alter it. A model of the plan should be installed on the rotunda of the city hall, and it should be printed on every directory and every map of Toronto. We would soon find the body of public opinion in favor of the work going on faster.

As to the financial aspect I say frankly that I haven't any idea what the cost will be. But it is conceded by municipal experts, both in this country and in England, that the cost of public improvements from which the future is to benefit most largely should be spread over the generations to come. But we can just as well pay this in forty years as longer. A certain portion of the money could be raised out of the taxation each year, that portion of the cost which the present generation has decided to bear. We all spend uselessly much than could be secured in this simple way. The Government gave annuities for \$30,000 for thirty years for the university. Some such assistance might well be secured, and capital also secured from the sum of money to be raised over succeeding years. This should be spent through the commission, wisely spent. It would satisfy all and prove not a matter of money, but a matter of time.

Canada has grown enormously in wealth. Individual progress has been marked—more than, I am sorry to say, the progress of Dominion, Provincial and municipal governments. We are discussing the bearing of a share our indebtedness to the British Empire, we haven't failed to assist in her wars, and we talk—in our own funny way—of doing something towards Imperial defence. Toronto is the second largest city of

our country; it is the largest of English speaking people. It is the educational centre. We want to show the Briton abroad what our material civilization amounts to.

Have we no national or civic pride? Bye-and-bye, perhaps, this will be evidenced, but not now. We do not always want to remain a wooden backwoods place with narrow provincial ideas. We aim to be cosmopolitan, to have a larger outlook. Winnipeg is a dangerous rival in the west. She does things earlier in her day than we did in ours. If Canada is to be a nation and the twentieth century belongs to us, then we must do our part—and do it well.

I am thankful to have the opportunity of speaking a word to your club. It has, I believe, done more than any other organization in Canada to develop our national pride. And in closing I appeal to your club to lend its powerful assistance to the bringing about of Toronto's reasonable beauties and the early coming of a time when the scorn of our ugly streets shall have passed away.

(April 27th.)

First Words in Canada.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

President E. R. Peacock :—This Club has had many notable gatherings, but none equal to that of to-night. We have entertained many distinguished guests, but none, surely, more distinguished than he who is our guest on this occasion. We are delighted to have with us, also, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, Mr. Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the *Century Magazine* and Colonel McCook, of New York. I hope that the impression which they got on their first visit will be so pleasant that we will get them back soon to speak to the Club themselves. That does not imply a promise that they will not have to speak to the Club to-night. It is with particular pride and pleasure that we welcome as the guest of this Club Mr. Andrew Carnegie. His name has been a household word in this city as in all parts of the English-speaking world. We have all been anxious to see him and meet him, and, having met him, hope he will often come to see us. He will always meet a hearty welcome. Mr. Carnegie has laid all of us under obligation to him, not alone by his gift of a library, but more still by the obligation which he always sends with the gift that we shall do something for ourselves in connection with it.

Mr. Carnegie—Hear, hear.

Mr. Peacock:—Mr. Carnegie is one of the great men of the day. His has been a great creative genius, and these are rare. He took hold of one side of the industrial life of the United States and has done, perhaps, more than any other single man to place the United States industrially in the proud position which it occupies to-day. But turning from these material views he gave us a new and inspiring ideal in regard to the duties which attaches to the possession of great wealth, a doctrine that he lived out and is living out to-day. When you have heard him to-night I think you will find his imagination is stretching out to still greater things, and that he is doing his best to bring them about. For Mr. Carnegie is an idealist of the best type of idealists, the Scotch. He keeps his eyes fixed on the higher things, but he keeps an eye on there being a ladder to reach them. I say no more, for the duty of introducing Mr. Carnegie in a formal way is laid on one we love. It is fitting that the foremost citizen of Toronto and one who is an old friend of Mr. Carnegie should introduce him. I have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Goldwin Smith.

Dr. Goldwin Smith:—Gentlemen, if you do not take care you will drive the few thoughts I had out of my poor old head. Introduction is not needful. If there could be any doubt that Mr. Carnegie would be heartily welcome in Toronto, this meeting settles it. He does not come among us as an alien. He was a Scotch boy, brought over to the United States; there, by his high qualities, making his way to high success as many a Scotch boy had done before him, as many hundreds of Canadian boys have done.

Nor in becoming an adopted citizen of the United States did he become a member of a community in any way hostile to Canada. For 30 years and more I have been conversant with Americans of all classes and parties, even in the bitter times of the Civil war, and I declare to you here that I think I never heard an ill word spoken of Canada, much less a threat of aggression. You might, perhaps, know I should not relish it if they had. However, at all events, they had self-restraint. The real truth is there is no feeling against Canada in the United States. If we have reason to blame them for anything it is because they do not know as much of us as they ought. Well, we are divided by natural lines, but above all things is humanity; and there is no better symbol of what that is than libraries, in which you meet the lives and minds of all ages.

This is an age of immense accumulations of wealth, the natural result of vast relations of commerce, great enterprises, great risks; and remember that if some gain, others lose, if we forfeit it means we would have to pay the loss. Every gain in the economic world, though good in itself, does bring evils in its train. The advent of machinery killed the cottage loom, brought the dark side of industrial life; co-operative stores and all savings of retail trade have brought with them

some suffering to smaller retail dealers; and this age has brought with it these vast accumulations of wealth which no one denies, with combines and with competition which have been dealt with by our guest in "Triumphant Democracy."

But what protection have the people; what safeguard is there that will ensure they will not take fright? The natural safeguard is the sense of responsibility in the breasts of the rich. That is the safeguard Mr. Carnegie has done his utmost to preach and promote, and has himself given a noble instance of in his life, from whose lips came the sentiment: "It is wrong to die rich," and who has lived up to his own precept.

Now, Mr. Carnegie was born—shall I use an improper term in saying in a cottage?—at all events in a lowly house. He has advanced to great wealth, but he has always remained a man of the people, willing to improve their condition, to raise their intelligence; above all, to enable them to do better for themselves has been the aim of his life.

I have no doubt the author of "Triumphant Democracy" has by this time, if not realized all his hopes, seen that our democracy has won triumphs over our own defects, and that in time to come there will be a serious work of reorganization to do. But he has never lost hope; he has never departed from the principles which are enunciated in "Triumphant Democracy"; he has pursued them to the best of his ability in his own way, not by cultivating hatred of the classes but by preaching self-help. He is a notable offspring of a large day, a man to whom we all owe gratitude; and I am glad this great assemblage has met to pay that due.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie:—Mr. Goldwin Smith, Mr. President and gentlemen, I know I am not in my ain countree, to-night, but if I could not know that it would be by the unusually warm and cordial reception which you have accorded me. A prophet is not without honor save in his own country, and when he goes abroad he gets an additional satisfaction from the fact that if they do not speak well enough of him at home, they think far too much of him when he is away. I could not tell, looking in your faces, whether I was to-night in New York, or in Pittsburg, or Edinburgh, or London, or whether I was among the British in Singapore or Allahabad, or on the Pacific Coast; I could not tell where I am to-night looking in your faces, faces just such as I have been meeting all my life. The English-speaking race preserves its type, which is a great matter. In Australia I am afraid it is losing it, but in all places I have ever been the Briton, American, Canadian, Englishman, Scotchman, Irishman, they preserve a common type.

Gentlemen, there may be some hidden qualities in you, some peculiarities, perhaps, which your modesty prevents you from instantly

revealing. The Scotch element is strong and modesty is a strong point in me. But I am not indisposed to accept the doctrine that the northern part of island or continent invariably produces the superior race by a fixed law of nature. I have reasons of a strictly personal character for looking kindly upon that doctrine, though not proclaiming it from the housetops lest I might wound the feelings of near and dear neighbors.

I had two sensations this morning coming along. A reverend gentleman sent me a book, a compilation of poetry, and I glanced over it to find it was the wildest outburst in honor of war I had ever the ill-fortune to read; and it was the Boer war. Well, we had a war in America and a glorious victory we gained. Our new battleships gained a great victory by sinking the old hulks of Spain! And we lost two men! And in another case 443,000 British soldiers, a few Canadians—about one-seventh of what went south to help us forty years ago—and a few Australians did succeed, after three years, in vanquishing sixty thousand farmers. Now, gentlemen, if the rich men and statesmen responsible for these two wars had been vested with foresight as clear as their hindsight neither of these mistaken wars would ever have taken place. It is with most of our wars, as Lord Salisbury said about the Crimean war, "We backed the wrong horse." But I was lifted from the sad thoughts of how men still glorify men by killing each other in battle like wild beasts and call them heroes—and, God save the mark, a clergyman at that, a disciple of the Prince of Peace. Did that man know that the distinguishing feature between the Christian and the non-Christian in the days immediately preceding Christ was that one would kill his fellow and the other would not. Maximillian, a centurian, was tried and sentenced to death and executed—a Christian he was, too—because he said, "I am a soldier cowed of Christ and I cannot kill my fellow man." A Christian would not serve in the legions. And Tertillian, one hundred years after, one of the earliest fathers, declared that "The baptismal vow and the military oath are inconsistent with each other, the one being a sign of Christ, the other of the devil." I would like to offer that clergyman the suggestion that he is the last man who should have compiled that bloodthirsty volume. I know that one of the last men who would circulate it is the humble individual who addresses you. It reminded me of this. You remember the unworthy conflict between the German and the French armies, which belong to the same God, being Christians, and of this celebrated telegram:

"Ten thousand Frenchmen gone below,
Praise God from whom all blessings flow."

Gentlemen, you may smile at that, but do for Heaven's sake ponder the thought that the foulest blot upon the earth, the foulest stain upon

civilization, is this killing of man by man. Of course it is a holy duty to protect our homes, but that which makes it so also makes it a holy duty not to attack the homes of others.

Gentlemen, I was raised to the atmosphere in which I delight to dwell when I saw that blue inland sea that you are situated upon, and I said to myself, "Take courage, Andrew, war is disease." Canada and America give to the world the sublimest lesson of all the world in this fact that your inland seas are dedicated to peace. Not a vessel of destruction worthy the name is ever to desecrate them. They remain forever open, pathways of peaceful communication between the two branches of our race here on the North American continent, serving to bind them, brothers as they are, into closer and closer union. Similar agreements between the nations of Europe following our example would save the salt seas from bearing upon their bosoms engines created by men for the destruction of each other. This is to come some day and sooner than most of us expect.

His Majesty launched a battleship the other day pronounced the most powerful in the British navy, called the "Dreadnought," while Germany has just announced it is to build a bigger one, and our industrial republic, false to the teachings of its founders, is about to excel Germany. "So ill begins and worse remains behind." When will nations, emperors, kings and strenuous presidents learn that a powerful navy makes not for peace, but invariably tempts to war! "How oft the means to do ill deeds make evil deeds done."

Gentlemen, I wish the mother land would take a lesson from her children over here. I wish His Majesty would reflect. He does not know the most powerful vessel in his navy. I will tell you what it is. It is the little yacht on that lake that fires nothing but messages of good-will to another little yacht, one bearing messages of good-will and flying the Stars and Stripes. And this little craft of yours is the most powerful vessel that flies the Union Jack. It preserves peace between the two branches of our English-speaking race, which is soon, in my opinion, to dominate the world.

If your proceedings of to-night be cabled, I trust His Majesty's attention will be attracted to this fact, that his powerful influence may be exerted in behalf of his prime minister's appeal for a league of peace among the nations, which will follow our example here in Canada and America, and ensure the total exclusion of battleships from the high seas as we exclude them on our inland seas, bringing nearer the permanent peace of the world. Let not the old home scorn to take a lesson from her children when that lesson leads to the greatest possible step forward, a lesson whose triumphant success here should be heeded by all European nations now staggering in what your wise prime minister calls "a vortex of militarism."

I am sure His Excellency, the Governor-General, a pacificator wherever he goes, from all we know of his desire for peace and good-

will among men, will have been deeply impressed by the treaty which banishes destructive engines forever from our inland seas. The spectacle which Canada and America present to the world is magnificent, justifying, I should think, a joint appeal to the powers of Europe to follow their example. A commission of our chief statesmen who stand for what is best, laying that treaty before the leading powers and urging its adoption, might work wonders.

Meanwhile we have great cause for hopefulness. The forthcoming Hague conference is very likely to declare the treaty of immunity of non-combatants and private property at sea, as these are now upon land in time of war. Britain, which has been so long opposed to this, but America has long urged it, is now converted; the Lord Chancellor, as you know, has declared in favor of this step forward, and the present Government is sure to agree. This is the most important improvement that remains to be made. After this may come the Canadian-American panacea.

Gentlemen, I read some years ago, it may not be very many, that one of your officers had proposed building a row of forts along your borders. I understand that officer is not now in command. Can you imagine anything so wildly, diabolically damnable as that, as far removed from the policy you have adopted on the lakes as right from wrong. What would you build them against? Your brothers of the English-speaking race down there? What you want is to have a treaty by which no military fortification shall exist on land as no warship on sea, and that officers wearing their uniform as a distinguishing badge of their trade shall not be allowed to wear them within ten miles of the frontier line. Why, gentlemen, war has not yet ceased in the world we will grant, but one thing I do claim, it has ceased forever between English-speaking men. Remember, for one hundred years now, lacking two or three, not one question has arisen between the two branches of the race that has not been settled by peaceful arbitration.

Now, there was one, a few years ago, so serious that I telegraphed the *London Times* one Sunday morning, and I telegraphed the Duke of Devonshire, "You are playing with fire." I was one of the representatives of the American Republic in the convention of pan-American republics, and I sat with these seventeen for four months and know all about this question of Venezuela. I want to give you the facts, because you will reach the conclusion that I reached, that if they could settle that question no question can arise between English-speaking men that will ever lead to war. Mr. Gladstone made a treaty with Venezuela to arbitrate. Lord Salisbury succeeded him and three weeks repudiated that treaty. Lord Rosebery came in; both parties were equally to blame; and Lord Rosebery said, "No, continue our foreign policy, I cannot reverse Salisbury." The correspondence would surprise

you; I had to read it all and I was up on that question. Finally Cleveland said: "So sacred is the doctrine of arbitration that I will request Britain to arbitrate this again." He did. It was declined. Friends in New York wished to call the chambers of commerce together, to have a meeting to denounce Cleveland. They did not know the question. I was present at the meeting. I sat there among those discussing that question. New Yorkers know everything but their own country. That is what we say in the West. They called a meeting and 534 sustained the demand for arbitration, willing to fight for it, and 3 voted against Cleveland. Now here is the beautiful thing; I wish to impress it on your minds. The British people began to understand it was a violation of treaty, a refusal to arbitrate. His present Majesty, then Prince of Wales, and his son and heir cabled a message to the American people: "We hope and we believe this question will be peaceably settled." Prime Minister Rosebery and a great number of the foremost and most influential Liberal statesmen telegraphed similar messages. Venezuela's President agreed to arbitrate and the result was peace.

I say this, gentlemen, after such an experience. The man who believes Briton and American or any member of the English-speaking race will go to war ought not to walk abroad without one of Franklin's lightning rods down his back. Now, gentlemen, another point; never in my lifetime has the race feeling been so strong, both in Britain and America, as it is this night on which I speak. You cannot mention Britain in any public audience in America that you do not evoke a cheer. And I speak often in Britain; they desire me to take many freedoms of cities, thus making many speeches; and I never touch the cord of the children across the Atlantic but I know I have as sure a cause for applause as a preacher when he preaches about a death-bed knows that he will have attention. But that is a bad illustration. As I would say in a body of Scotchmen, that there was no place in the world worthy to be mentioned as second to bonny Scotland.

Now, gentlemen, I am in a strange position. I was born, like many of yourselves—Mark Twain told us the other night it is being naked—born like yourselves a subject of the late lamented Queen Victoria; became, through the action of my father, an American citizen—I was a minor when my father became one—and I do not know in what position I can talk to you as fellow countrymen, but to-night I appear as an American. And I will tell you how I feel towards the two lands. You all know, espacially you Scotchmen, how I feel about Scotland. You know how it is yourselves. Scotland is my mother land. The Republic is my wifeland, and I see nothing inconsistent with utmost devotion to the mother and the strongest love for the wife. I would give my life for either of them if I thought it could save them from grave disaster.

Now, I only have one test about English-speaking men. They are all one. It makes little difference whether a man is under the British or American flag; and if, though even of the English race, he has no other flag, he is under one or other. I have only one test, does he speak the common tongue?

"If Shakespeare's tongue be spoken there
And songs of Burns be in the air."

That is all I want to know. And, gentlemen, these countries were one and united, and I have again, as in that "Triumphant Democracy" my friend Dr. Smith was good enough to mention, to cast a look ahead; remember it is a look ahead; I think it is a very safe thing to prophesy if you do not fix the date; still, as sure as you sit there, because I feel all the faith of a prophet, as sure as you are living the sun that once shone upon a united English-speaking race, upon a united America and Canada and England, will rise again some morning and greet their re-union.

I could tell you why but I won't take up your time. Not that Britain will deteriorate so much as that she cannot expand.

Gentlemen, 5,000,000 more people in that little island would cause deterioration in the race. Some say deterioration exists now at 40,000,000. Why, gentlemen, in Canada and America, in the lifetime of people now born you will have a population equal to that of Europe. I have made a calculation and I find that there will be 300,000,000 people here if a man is born to-day and lives to see ninety. Now, gentlemen, I say there are great consolidations coming in Europe. Some of them have come in your time. We have Italy, a great nation created out of many small powers; Germany, a wonderful empire, consolidated out of 17 or 18 kingdoms, 13 duchies, and 213 little powers, principalities. You have seen it rise to a great empire. This is an age of the consolidation of Europe; the continent of Europe is on the verge, I believe, of tremendous consolidations. In that event our dear English land, that island land, will be dwarfed and become as a Holland or a Belgium relatively to other powers. Britain will be alien in Europe; she has no sympathy with the continental nations; she will cast her glance across the Atlantic to her giant children here, and when she stretches out her arms her two boys will take care of the dear old mother. Lord Rosebery has said in his Glasgow University rectorial address that such a union of the English-speaking race would have taken place if Pitt had not gone to the House of Lords, and Lord Rosebery was willing, if that should take place, its capital should be in the centre of population, and that is on this side. Well, gentlemen, it is a fact that Toronto is very near the centre of population. Gentlemen, that is, as we say, a detail, but it is true.

Now we talk of two things. I read a great deal about British imperialism. The Duchess of Sutherland said to me the other day—she is not a worthless duke; she is a very delightful woman—"I want you to write in a book, but I won't give it to you, I will give it to Mrs. Carnegie, and I want you to write where I check," and the place was marked opposite where Joseph Chamberlain had written, and I wrote this: "British Imperialist predicts too mean a destiny for my revered mother land. She should sit enthroned among her children at the head of the whole race and not be shunted off into a corner; and I am a race imperialist." Gentlemen, I wish to say that America rejoices in your prosperity. You cannot be prosperous without your prosperity reacting upon us. We have stood by you in a sense in the past. Who made you free from their fiscal needs? When your English Prime Minister said he would rather do anything than resign one jot of his fiscal proposal, America fought them on that because we considered and said that the doctrine of taxation without representation was unBritish and unconstitutional, and America stood out till Pitt and Fox and Burke had to surrender. Gentlemen, you do not have to face that. Gentlemen, you owe us about \$350,000,000 for securing to you that all you had to say was, "My dear Prime Minister, look at what the United States did; and we stand by every British principle; no power on earth will we ever permit to interfere with our home affairs in Canada."

How did you repay us? You sent 7,000 men to join the King's army in South Africa to serve a year, and they came back when Kitchener wanted them to and were paid 5 shillings a day. What did you do when our republic, your sister nation, was in trouble? You sent 42,000 men to fight for us in the Civil War. Now who is going to talk about Canada or the United States going to quarrel or anything of the sort!

I am going to finish with one prediction; I want to be a prophet for something. I was asked to go to Winnipeg some years ago to address its historical society. Being up-to-date she is going to record her history when she makes it. What do you think of that? She elected me an honorary member of that historical society. I wrote them a somewhat gushing letter in 1903—it was not so long ago after all—in which I said: "Dear Sir, Yours of the 14th received this morning. In reference to the action of the historical society, the honor conferred in electing me an honorary member of your society gives me notable pleasure, for two reasons; first, it is from a branch of my own race—that always counts with me—; second, it is from Canada, from the friendly neighbor of the Great Republic."

You know that I am a race imperialist. I know—all the prophets do—that the day is coming when Canada, as the well-beloved younger daughter, will take the motherland by one hand and the rebellious elder brother by the other and reconcile them both. I also say that

she will some day annex the republic. That is all right. Lord Grey said in New York the other day: "You must never think you can annex Canada." No, quite right. Now the statement is wrong there. Earl Grey did say that you need never think to annex Canada; I agree with that; but his Lordship never in a word reverts to the other contingency, never said Canada would not annex the United States, just as the northern part, Scotland, annexed the southern part called England, and has bossed her ever since.

That letter of mine to the Winnipeg society was telegraphed, or extracts from it, to the *London Times*—I never thought it would be—and Andrew D. White, our ambassador over there, wrote to me: "Dear Mr. Carnegie: I never saw anything so well put as your letter to the Winnipeg society. I saw it in *The Times* this morning. Now I say may this be the destiny of Canada." The society received the communication with unstinted applause and delight and it no doubt received an honored place in the archives of the society. Gentlemen, you have a good laugh. So many people in this world laugh at things which turn out to be the truth; and this is a truth that I am telling you in regard to the destiny of the race.

This is a far look ahead you will say. Be it so, but it may be nearer than expected. Sooner or later it must come to pass and all our efforts should be directed to this end. Meanwhile let us never forget that we are of the one race and that British Imperialism prefigures a poor destiny for it, even if accomplished, compared with the true ideal we should all labor to realize—race Imperialism.

I bespeak this destiny as the only one worthy of my native land; the old mother surrounded by her devoted children—the giant child, her firstborn and Canada, the younger but still more devoted daughter, vying in their efforts to lessen in some part the unpayable debt which all English-speaking men must ever owe to the sceptred isle, the old home of our race, our Mother Land, God bless her.

Gentlemen, we are brothers on this continent; let us act as brothers. And recalling our common mother let Canadian and American utter the dying words of Mailie, as written by Burns in his ode addressed to Mailie:

"When you think upon your mither
Try to be kind to ane anither."

The president:—I have great pleasure now in calling upon Professor Clark, an old friend, President of the Empire Club, our sister club.

Rev. Prof. Clark:—Mr. President, Mr. Carnegie and gentlemen, I cannot say with our illustrious guest that I am not in my ain countrie, for we Scotchmen have a way of making every country to which we go our own country. Mr. Carnegie has made the United States his

country; he has made a home here among Scotchmen here; though one is glad he has such a warm place in his heart for the land from which we come. We have a warm place now for him; it is always well to be a Scotchman, for every Scotchman thinks the better of him and no one will think any the worse of him. I am very glad also you reminded us of the true relations between the northern and southern parts of the kingdom at the time of the Union. I remember a Scotchman who was much surprised when he heard an Englishman say that the Scotchmen had been conquered by England. Nothing of the kind. What happened was that a Scotch king became king of England and then removed the capital from Edinburgh to London.

We all remember how the stone of fate emigrated. You remember the stone on which Jacob slept—there is no doubt about it, because it is a tradition in Scotland, and which then went over to Ireland, from which the Scotchmen came, you know—and then came back to Scotland and there was written on it an inscription to the effect that where that stone lay they would the kingdom be. Well then, Edward the First, the "Hammer of Scotland," removed it to England to break the charm. On the contrary the prophecy was entirely fulfilled. You see, sir, there were prophets in the past as well as in the present. It was fulfilled by James VI of Scotland becoming the 1st of England, and sitting on the Stone of Destiny in Westminster Abbey. That is the fact.

I could not help making these few remarks. I have nothing left to say. You, Mr. President, have said all, and the illustrious gentleman, whom you have designated as the first citizen of Toronto, has said it so well I would be only mangling it to say more. But I will say one or two words. Simply to refer to it in ordinary, plain, historical manner would seem the grossest flattery. It would seem almost impossible; that a man who would have it said of him would think it flattery, it is not flattery but the simple truth. It shows the difficulty of reverting to great works done by a great man when you have that man in this audience. What can you do but refer to it simply and make a failure of a speech as I feel I shall do. We wish to do honor to him, and the speakers are not mere individuals. Some of us are of great importance, like my revered friend, and some of small, but we represent the men of Canada in speaking to him this evening—and there is no one who will dare to contradict it.

I have some doubt some will say we are here to worship wealth. We are not. I am not one of those extreme socialists who consider every rich man a bad man; he often is as benevolent and has as many other good qualities as the rest of us. And when we find wealth is not only gathered but administered in a benevolent manner, then, whatever we say about the wealth, we owe our gratitude to the wealthy man. A man can make a bad use of his money, and there is no worse

use than spending it all upon himself. We are all stewards; what we have is given by God, and in giving it he has laid upon us the solemn obligation to spend it according to his law. That has been done by the man we honor to-night, and we can say this of him, that his wealth represents earnestness and industrious effort, that it has no relation to greed or extortion, and that in saying this we speak the plain truth which all men recognize.

I feel satisfied that I can tell Mr. Carnegie on your behalf that we believe he has done an immense service to the English-speaking community by his encouragement of reading and his gifts of libraries. And here I would like to say one word. He does not speak here to Anglo-Saxons. I would not be ashamed to be an Anglo-Saxon, but we are not Anglo-Saxons, we are Anglo-Celts. I admire the German very much. He is a little heavy, perhaps, but we have that little spice of Celt which redeems the heaviness, and I for one will never give up the spice. But I will not have your Anglo-Saxon.

I believe there are some people afraid of reading doing harm. Now I believe on the whole I enter into better society in my books than the average society I meet elsewhere. It is said that in reading the best books we become familiar not only with the best men who have lived, but with the best thought of the best men who have lived. And when you, Mr. Carnegie, were speaking, it all at once came to my mind that Sir George Trevelyan, in the life of his uncle, Lord Macaulay, says: "When I asked him to what he owed his success, he said to me, 'When I served as a young man in India, when it was a turning point in my life, when it was a mere chance whether I should become a mere card-playing lounge, I was fortunate to be quartered for two months in the neighborhood of an excellent library which was recommended to me.' "

Now, sir, you put it in the power of young men to follow in the footsteps of Lord Macaulay, and if they do not comprehend him they will, at all events, comprehend the size of the cheque he got from Longman for the first two volumes of his work. I do trust you will be spared many years to carry on the good work you have been doing in behalf of human nature and other blessings. The testimony against war and the blessings on peace you have uttered will not be forgotten by this large and representative assembly.

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, being called upon, spoke as follows:—

It is an inspiration, Mr. Chairman, to stand face to face with this company of representative men of Toronto and of the Dominion, and to be a witness of your hearty and affectionate greeting of Mr. Carnegie, and to realize how completely you appreciate the character of the high ideals to which he has devoted his life. Especially is it an

inspiration to one who, like myself, appreciates so keenly the significance of every gathering of men of this English-speaking race of ours, who, owing political allegiance to different systems and to sister flags, owe one undivided human allegiance to the grand ideals that have moved and made our civilization.

If we were not so much concerned and so deeply immersed in the details of it all you and I would appreciate that one of the most stupendous facts of history is the discovery, settlement, subjugation of this North American continent, and the building upon it of nations, the evolving of constitutions and the building up here of civil and industrial order and liberty. There had been great migrations before this of our ancestors, but never before have the seeds of a great civilization been planted abroad upon so stupendous a scale, and never before has the responsibility for the character of the growth that came from that seed been so great.

There has something been going on for well-nigh seven hundred years, of which we are a part, that is not finished yet, and it is the business of every serious-minded, English-speaking man to realize that fact and his relation to it. Nearly seven hundred years ago Magna Charta outlined the basis of the civil and political order under which we live. Little by little, one achievement after another was added to the list until there came out of it all a great, orderly, peace-loving civilization, built upon three fundamental principles, and these principles have gone into the common law of our race and upon them we have all built. These principles are: first, civil and industrial liberty; second, the right of private property, and, third, the inviolability of contract. Everything that has been accomplished, economically and politically, by our race has been built upon these three great principles. To-day every one of the principles is challenged, every one of these principles is subject to attack. Why? Because man's greed, man's selfishness and human cunning have not been driven out of man, and, therefore, these principles have not yet been made to work in all respects with equity.

Now, there are two great alternative opportunities opening before ourselves and our children, and I myself feel that the time in which we live and the time in which our children will live is likely to be a time of the greatest moment in the history of these fundamental institutions of ours. We may do one of two things. We may either accept the false leadership of the man who knows neither history nor economics, and who permits himself to dwell merely on external and superficial defects, and try to uproot these great fundamental principles. We may, if we will, join the philosophical anarchist and the socialism of the chair, and try to undermine the foundations on which have been built the history of the last seven hundred years. Or we may set ourselves to the wiser and more enduring and more sane task of

warring, not against these fundamental principles, but against mistakes and deficiencies in their application.

Have you ever thought what would happen if the sum total of the property of the world were divided into equal parts and an equal part given at day-break on the first of some fine January morning to every human being? Where would it be when the sun set? How many would have their aliquot part and how many would have the aliquot part of a million people? You can have equality economically if you will, but only at the price of the destruction of civil and industrial liberty.

Think of the picture of the Europe of to-day. Where are there more beautiful lands—mountains capped with snow, valleys fertile with vines and crops and trees, great ports and cities, rivers, creeks and hills, all the diversity which has made nations, which has made changes in climates, which has built up great cities, which has developed commerce and industry, which has made history and civilization.

Supposing you were to take Europe from its easterly line to its westerly, and level it off, what would you have? One single barren plain, averaging 900 feet above the sea, without a hill, without a mountain or a river or a tree; that would not sustain human life. For the sake of an artificial equality you would have destroyed the principle on which life rests.

That, gentlemen, is the programme that is offered to you and to me to-day, and do not mistake, I know not how it is in Canada, but in the United States the propaganda for that policy is persistent, able and insistent. I cannot but believe that it is carried on partly through thoughtlessness, partly out of general sympathy for those who fall behind in the race, but without consideration of what victory for that policy would mean. So I say to you all gathered here to greet your distinguished guest and to manifest your approval of what he has said about peace, that one cannot face a company such as this, one cannot face it, I say, without pointing to the menace to peace in this policy which is being pushed before you in editorials, on the hustings and in legislative assemblies to try to have these questions settled by the reverse of these fundamental principles.

Do you want an artificial solution of a great human problem, or will we all unite by lifting up everybody to a higher and higher plane, not by pulling down but by lifting up the race, its brain, its inventiveness, its genius, to work through it and for the society of which we are all a part? That seems to me a serious matter that the English-speaking people of to-day must ponder.

Mr. Geo. Tate Blackstock, K.C., was next called upon, and said:—

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am sure that I need not say that I feel it a very great pleasure and honor indeed to have been present this evening and to have joined you in the welcome we have had the

pleasure of extending to the distinguished citizen of the evening, that great citizen of the world whom we have had the pleasure of honoring; and also to have heard the gentleman we have just heard and others who are to follow. And I think I cannot finish these few introductory remarks without expressing the very great pleasure I feel in being permitted to sit at the board once more with the gentleman whose presence among us during these years has reflected honor upon us; whose name is indeed *nomen declarabit et venerabit*.

There is a story told—perhaps apocryphal, but it will serve my turn this evening—of one of the presidents of the republic who, on the evening of the inaugural day, after the fatigue was over, found himself the solitary occupant of his noble but lonely rooms. And after the last guest had gone he said, looking around upon the vast emptiness: "How in hades did I ever get into this trouble?" That is the question that presses sore upon me to-night. I am indebted to the wiles and artifices of your president for it. I am often interested in those picturesque utterances we owe to our friends across the border and one of these is that word "bunco." I believe, Mr. President, it is a verb—I do not know whether active or passive—but I know it is an active little verb in the hands of the President of the Canadian Club, and I am a victim of it to-night. A gentleman who can put up anything in opposition to the Horse Show is a distinguished gentleman.

I will let you into a little secret. I was distinctly warned I was not to make a speech, so I shall probably make one. I was to fill the position of chink-filler-in-ordinary to the other gentlemen. I am simply to blow the soap bubbles; not soft soap, however. I am the man who makes a few faces through the horse collar for your delectation. We are recurring to the practice of former times, when the great man travelled with his jester. The cap and bells are supposed to have been put upon me and it is now my duty to perform. A nickel has been dropped in my slot. Well, Mr. Chairman, I think I have been treated rather shabbily by my superiors to-night. I have read these jokes by former jesters and I have a suspicion they were furnished by the gentleman whose retainers they were. Gentlemen, I have been furnished with none, and therefore am driven to declare bankruptcy among you. It is impossible—for all things lead to Rome on those occasions when we have these friends from across the border—not to say something to you. I had prepared something but I have been sitting near a gentleman and, in the picturesque language of Sir Richard Cartwright, "he has been illustrating the predatory instincts of his Hieland forefathers upon me." There are other things they steal besides crowns and sceptres and empires. So you can expect to have a very excellent speech from my friend, Col. McCook.

I am sure I express the common sentiment of everyone here to-night when I say we have all been wonderfully pleased and charmed by the truly great speech made by Mr. Carnegie, a speech which was in reality a great statesmanlike deliverance, and which shows that in other departments he is as full of vigorous ideas as in the industrial development with which he has been so long associated. There was no part I was so much interested in as the share which our own country had in drawing the great republic and the mother country together. The truth is, if you examine the history of the rapprochement between the two peoples, you will find that everyone of these famous disputes which have arisen between the United States and Great Britain in respect of this Dominion, and which yielded to peaceful methods of solution, has in the end brought the parties into closer and more harmonious and more friendly relations than they were in before the quarrel started. And, in point of fact, there is one circumstance to which we may lay claim in this Dominion that has resulted from the fact that we have been a small and insignificant portion of the Anglo-Saxon family—I had almost been guilty of forgetting myself, Professor Clark—has been this, that we have studied the American and the Englishman with more success than they have ever been able to study one another, and we can comprehend each of them better than either comprehends the other, and interpret them one to the other better than they can interpret themselves. If you examine the history of the English-speaking people you will find it is in this Dominion of Canada that has been the common meeting place of both, both the United States new-world development and the old country. We are powerfully played upon by the influences of both. On the one hand our juxtaposition to the United States means that our conditions of life are more closely analogous than in England. This, joined with close social relations and close contact throughout our connection with the United States—all these things have combined to fuse themselves in the Canadian character and we are the expression of ideals at once English and American in a pre-eminent degree.

Well, sir. I am a subscriber to the doctrine that Mr. Carnegie has given expression to to-night, the hope that the time will come when indeed there will be a great and comprehensive union of the English-speaking people, and I have no doubt that is rapidly going forward now. And if he will permit me I must say I think that movement of Mr. Chamberlain's which he disparages is a movement which is the first and earliest step towards the accomplishment of that end which Mr. Carnegie has in mind.

Mr. President, I shall not detain you at greater length for I know you want to hear Mr. Watson Gilder and Col. McCook. I cannot forbear to say, however, that we in Canada have a very weighty responsibility which devolves upon us. The lines have been cast to us in

pleasant places. I was saying to Col. McCook that as pauperism is known in Europe, in the Ghettoes, we have not four hundred such in Canada. Pauperism may be said not to exist. Not only that, but our population is largely homogeneous. We are not faced with such problems as that which faces our neighbors in the negro problem. Everything conspires to make our lot a fortunate and happy one. But I often fear we are altering in our moral character. It takes broad shoulders to carry prosperity, and I sometimes fear that while our prosperity is going on the character of our civilization is being threatened at some points. I sometimes fear we shall not maintain in the years to come, if we are not careful, that character for the sterling virtues, for truth and honesty, which enables a million Canadians to live in the United States and seize upon positions of trust and honor and emolument.

Sir, it is to the preservation of the ideals of that manhood—I sometimes feel a sense of deep regret when I see a farmer who toiled for the education of his son succeeded by a son who, while conforming in manners and education and self-support, in all the real qualities of a sterling and virile manhood is beneath the father who made these sacrifices for him—it is to the ideals on which Canada is founded, self-restraint and self-development, without which no nation can be successful, it is to the maintenance of these in pristine strength and glory I would ask that—not conceived in a spirit of aggrandizement, to soar above others, but as a contribution to this great Anglo-Saxon race of which so much has been said—we may qualify ourselves in this great partnership of the future, we may fit ourselves to occupy the great place which our advantages should fit us to occupy.

I cannot do better than say that in the advance of these ideals, peace, harmony, and moral as against material prosperity, I cannot do better than quote in support of that ideal that magnificent language of your own immortal Webster at the dedication of the Temple of Fame in memory of Mr. Justice Story, when he said:

“Whoever labors upon this edifice, whoever clears its foundations, strengthens its pillars, adorns its entablatures, on contributes to raise its august dome still higher in the skies, unites himself in name and fame and character with all these and must be as durable as the frame of human society itself.”

Mr. Richard Watson Gilder, editor of *The Century*, being called upon, said:—

Mr. President, Mr. Carnegie, and gentlemen:—I have always understood that the impressions of a traveller were most valuable when he was most ignorant, and I cannot be more ignorant of this part of Canada, certainly, than I am to-night. I think that in saying a few words to you to-night I had better give a few words to the impressions

which I have gathered; young impressions they are, not yet twenty-four hours old.

The first impression was one of extreme uncertainty, which I shared with your distinguished guest. We sat at the observation end of our car and argued as to that invisible line which separates so little after all. It is situated merely in that unstable element, water, and we could not see it. My first impression on landing was to see a flag, not the Stars and Stripes, flying over a modern city. I said: "Why, our English friends must be having a celebration!"

Mr. Carnegie speaks of the type. I see it everywhere. Did you notice, when you were singing "For He's a jolly, good fellow," Mr. Carnegie was too.

"So I was," chimed in Mr. Carnegie with boyish exuberance.

Mr. Gilder:—He is a modest, simple-hearted soul, as we know who live his neighbors in New York, a kindly being who was not thinking of himself but of you. Here, as I look around, I catch sight of an old friend and then I say, "No, it is a new friend." The noblest human being I ever met was an American, whose memory is as influential to you as to us, Ralph Waldo Emerson. To-night I was reminded of that face by the face of your chief citizen of Toronto. There is a type, the type of the higher intellect and the noblest mankind can do. It is interchangeable; one of us is one of you.

In fact, the bewilderment is kept up; American or Canadian, which are you. Taken out of my own country? I cannot be out of my own country. Mr. Carnegie speaks of that dispensable war, as he calls it, about your share in which you are so proud, but there is one incident which I wish was known better, that of the American who saved Kimberly; Labron was his name, an American miner who did more to save the city than anyone. He was not taking Boers; he was saving his neighbors, giving them water, saving their food until their large salvation came from their own source. That is the kind of oneness that will always go on in peace or war—sympathy and kindness and the same kind of thinking.

Another impression I had to-day. We of New York come from the most congested district in the country. We have a tenement house problem. We have districts more crowded than anything in Asia, anything in the world. I am glad to find Toronto is a city full of little homes and full of large hearts.

Col. J. J. McCook said:—Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I do not believe that a wandering band of minstrels, strolling about the country, has been treated with greater frankness, if not severity, than the strollers who are following after Mr. Carnegie have been treated by your chairman. As we came into the hall to-night, in a very apologetic way he said to me: "These meetings always adjourn quite early, and while, of course, we know that all Americans who go about the world

have their pockets filled with carefully prepared speeches, ready to draw them on the slightest provocation, I fear that, owing to the length of Mr. Carnegie's address, we will not have the opportunity of calling upon you to-night." You can imagine the relief to the average man, and I enjoyed the good feast and the good fellowship of the gentleman who has recently addressed you so eloquently (Mr. Blackstock), and we had a good time. But it is all right. He is a poor strolling minstrel who could not say something under circumstances like these.

First of all, when Mr. Smith—whom you claim as a resident of Toronto, but whom we claim, not as a citizen of the world alone but as a very dear friend to many of us in New York. There is not a word he writes that is not received with the greatest consideration. We share with you fully the veneration extended to him by every right-minded man here in Toronto. Under these circumstances, gentlemen, you can imagine how very badly I feel, a young man from the States, to have to set up my judgment against that of Mr. Smith, as I am compelled to do, and to combat the statement which he made and which I am compelled to resent on the part of the people of the United States. Mr. Smith says that after thirty years acquaintance in the States—but he did not say the States, he said the United States; when you quote a purist you must be very careful—he said that after this long acquaintance with the people south of the line he was able to say the people of the United States had no feeling towards the people of Canada. That I denounce as a base falsehood.

The people of the United States have the intelligence to appreciate and recognize what we have in our great neighbor to the north of us. We have a feeling towards Canada and the people of Canada; but they are feelings, first, of respect and of regard, and then of heart-throbbing affection. If you could have been in New York two or three weeks ago, when it was our privilege to invite to that city and entertain the distinguished Governor-General of Canada, no man would have any question in his mind as to the feeling of the people of the United States towards Canada and the Canadian people. It was the first time that we had ever had a Governor-General within our borders in his official capacity. We respect and admire Earl Grey as an individual. He was invited, of course, with affectionate regard as Earl Grey, but he was brought there as Governor-General of the Great Dominion to the north of us. I will not trouble you with the details of that occasion, but in my experience of public entertainments in the city of New York, as extended to any man outside our borders, never was anyone so entertained, without reserve and with greater enthusiasm, than the people of New York extended to Earl Grey as Governor-General of the Dominion.

I remember one incident of the occasion, because we are not quite so used to drink the toast of the King as you on this side, when the

chairman got the King and the President, I won't say so confused or mingled together, but they were united, in one toast, and the whole body rose and drank in the one toast to the King and President and there was no difference between them in the heart or mind of any man who responded to the toast.

We have been here less than 24 hours but we have been the subject of the most delightful and engaging hospitality. As I was thinking of it coming here to-night, it was as engaging and attractive as the beauty of that rose. But then, passing one of your windows, I saw another symbol, and that is the magnificent maple leaf that represents the glory of this country. Each act of kindly hospitality seemed more acceptable, as each color on the maple leaf seems more brilliant than all. No two leaves are alike; each is different and, like your hospitality, has endless variety.

So far as the United States are concerned we get more from Canada than we are able to give her, but there is a good deal in what we send over the border in the loss to us and gain to you. You in Toronto know, perhaps, what is going on in the Northwest, a country blest of God with every bountiful provision, capable of maintaining thousands of respectable, hard-working, Canadian citizens. In times past the attractions of the United States have drawn some splendid Canadians down to our western and southwestern country, but we are giving them back to you now. You are all familiar with the trite story of the Roman matron who, speaking of her jewels, said they were her children, her sons. To-day the western states are giving up to Canada—or, rather, you are wooing and drawing them away to yourself—the most splendid immigration that has entered any county since immigration began. They are men who have fought the battles of the plains. They have learned how to live out-of-doors, how to convert to their own use the blessings of Nature in a country like that. They know not only how to comprehend the blessings of Nature but how to live in a new country with success; but, better still, they bring a manhood trained in the best way that we in the United States know how to train men.

They will be in that country a bulwark for your country, a bulwark for everything that is good and right, as they have been with us. Gentlemen, we give to you the best we have; we give you our sons.

The President:—It would be inadequate to express in any words the pleasure we have enjoyed to-night. A great series of speeches, with a noble note running through them, which we shall not ever forget and whose influence shall be far-reaching. All I can say to our guests is that we thank them most sincerely, and hope the influence of their speeches will reward them for what they have said. We hope our friends, for they are all friends now, will come back soon.

Report of Literary Correspondent.

Mr. President and fellow members of the Canadian Club,—One year ago you did me the honor of electing me to the office of Literary Correspondent. Since then I have endeavored to fulfil the duties pertaining to that office to the best of my ability, and I wish to say, that instead of finding it an irksome task, on the contrary it has been a most pleasant and interesting one.

My first duty was to look after the publication of the "Club's Proceedings" for the previous year, which was done and a copy delivered to each member as early as possible.

During the year I have received a great many requests for copies of the proceedings, both from citizens of Canada and the United States, and, if I might be permitted to make the suggestion, I think it would be a graceful move for the club to publish a sufficient number of copies this year, so that a few could be reserved for careful distribution later on. They are sure to be asked for by those who would appreciate them as a work of reference.

I have also had repeated requests for copies of the addresses of several of the speakers we have had—from publishers and others—demonstrating the fact that there is no better food for public thought than that supplied by the speakers at our luncheons from time to time.

As an indication of how our meetings appeal to a visitor, allow me to read the following clipping from *The Republican*, Springfield, Mass., which was entirely unsolicited:

AT TORONTO'S CANADIAN CLUB.

A WEEKLY LUNCH AND AN INTERESTING SPEECH THE FEATURES.

To the Editor of *The Republican*,—Perhaps one may with safety use the much abused word unique of a lunching or dining club with a regular attendance of from 300 to 500. Such is the Canadian Club of Toronto, and the numbers prove just right for just the kind of a good time the members are after. Once a week, usually at noon, but sometimes in the evening, they gather in the "ball-room over McConkey's, line the long tables, 50 at a side, and, after a simple meal, listen to the speaker of the day. The speaker may be a Canadian, with some special word of the wonderful development of the Dominion, or he may be a "distinguished visitor" with his message from abroad. For, with a creditable breadth of view, this Canadian Club, unconsciously perhaps, lives up to the liberal old motto, "Nihil humani me alienum puto."

Who are the members? The business and professional men of Toronto. The club has no purpose except the promotion of good fellowship, and has no cause except the cultivation of a liberal humanity. Though, to be sure, it professes to foster a Canadian spirit, what is the use in cultivating that which could not grow more stoutly? So its professed purpose may be disregarded.

I chanced to attend a meeting of the club addressed by Booker T. Washington. A little after six the members began coming, direct from their offices and stores, and seated themselves in lines, long enough to give a distinct sense of perspective, looking down the tables. Lines of incandescent lamps studded the beams of the ceiling; the room, a hall excellently decorated, as I recollect, in soft dark rouge shades.

Only a half dollar from each member attending paid for the meal. It did not take long to serve; it was simple—just a plateful of meat, with all the potato you wanted when it came around, and bread, or rather the delicious Canadian butter you merely used the bread as a vehicle for. Then came a simple dessert and a cup of coffee. It was not elaborate, but was enough for a man, a great deal better, and a great deal more civilized than the many course gorging of the usual formal banquet, where the foods, to be sure, are artistic and modern enough, but the feeding of the same old savage, torpor-producing kind of our stone-age ancestors after they had battered in the skull of a reindeer and fallen to for an orgy.

After eating, everybody pushed back his chair, or turned it around to face the speaker, and most everybody "lighted up." Hundreds of wavering lines of smoke eddied to mingle in a cloud about the incandescent lamps. E. R. Peacock, president of the club, manager of a large Canadian bond house, introduced the speaker. But with Booker Washington, and what he has to say, all readers of *The Republican* are familiar. He spoke well, as always, and displayed a keen sense of humor and an excellence of story telling I had never chanced to hear from him before. But it is the club itself I am writing about.

"Who are some of the people?" I asked my neighbor. He pointed out a few. Over there was the president of one of the great Canadian banks, with a capital of about \$10,000,000, and upward of one hundred branches. And there near him sat a professor from the University of Toronto. "The University of Toronto?" you inquire. It has about 2,000 students and some strong departments. And there sat a shrewd builder of railways through the wilderness; that is, the wilderness of yesterday; to-day wallowing wheat fields. To-morrow? perhaps itself an empire. Who knows? So on my neighbor pointed the members out through the usual "representative men" of a city of 300,000 population.

More often than meeting in the evening the club assembles at noon, and, not to interfere with the day's work, allows itself just an hour

for the meeting. The address must, perforce, be short, 25 minutes, perhaps, but that is enough for the right man to say a great deal in. The evening meeting was all over by 8 o'clock. As representative of the men who speak to the club, these had recently addressed it: Charles M. Hays, president of the Grand Trunk Railway, and the English humorist, Jerome K. Jerome. And among the speakers expected in the near future is Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, president of the Canadian Pacific. I leave it to an easy surmise how much such a weekly assembling of the Canadian Club of Toronto does for a sense of civic unity.

W. H. L.

I feel that I am safe in stating that we have just concluded the most successful year in the history of the Club, not alone in the matter of attendance, but better than that, in the quality of the addresses we have had the pleasure of listening to. Were I to enter into an eulogy of any or all of them it would necessitate my taking up too much of your time with this report. I would like, however, just to mention three meetings which I believe will stand out as unique in the Club's history, namely, those addressed by:—

Charles M. Alexander, the world-renowned evangelist;

Booker T. Washington, the great uplifter and educationist of the colored race;

And the Carnegie meeting of last Friday evening, which was, without a doubt, the greatest meeting in the history of the Canadian Club, and a fitting climax to a most successful year.

A verbatim report of each address delivered during the season has been prepared, and, with the exception of those of the last meeting, are all in the hands of the publisher, and it is my intention that the "Year Book" will be delivered to the members not later than June 1st. I might also add that I am having a bound copy prepared for each of the speakers, which will be forwarded as soon as ready.

I do not wish to close my report without thanking the Press for their valuable assistance during the year. Thanks to them I have been enabled to prepare a very interesting scrap book, which, in the years to come, will be a valuable souvenir in the Club's library.

In closing I wish to express the pleasure it has been for me to associate with the Executive of this Club, and to thank them for the assistance they have given me in my department, and I trust that the incoming Executive will use the success of the season just closed as an incentive to make next year one of even greater interest to the members of the Canadian Club.

J. H. W. MACKIE,
Literary Correspondent.

Secretary's Annual Report

SEASON 1905-06

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—

During the past season 304 new members have been added to the Roll of Membership, 54 have either resigned or removed from the city, and 216 have been struck off the Roll for non-payment of the annual fee. The present paid-up membership of the Club is 1,118—a slight increase over last year.

Only 21 meetings have been held this season (as against 30 last year) 16 regular luncheons and 5 special evening meetings.

The average attendance has been 275—last year 250.

The Executive Committee has met 10 times, with an average attendance at these meetings of 10 members.

The following is the

PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS

			Attend- ance
1905			
Nov.	3	Jerome K. Jerome.....	400
"	13	Theo C. Taylor, M.P., of Butley, Yorkshire, England, on "Profit Sharing"	200
"	20	(Evening) Prof. Adam Short, of Queen's University, on "Taxation of Corporations"	150
"	27	W. Richmond Smith, the War Correspondent, on "Why the Japs Fight as They Do"	260
Dec.	4	Charles Marcil, M.P., Deputy Speaker House of Com- mons, on "The French Canadian"	235
"	11	Prof. T. B. Kilpatrick, of Knox College, on "Things that make a Nation"	200
1906			
Jan.	8	Hon. Gifford Pinchot, of Washington, on "American Forestry"	225
"	15	(Evening) Charles M. Hays, of the Grand Trunk Railway System, on "The Railways"	450
"	22	J. P. Hynes for The Guild of Civic Art, on "How to Beautify Toronto"—illustrated with lime light views..	200
"	29	Charles M. Alexander, of Torrey-Alexander Mission, on "The Place and Power of Music"	450
Feb.	5	(Evening) Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, Ala., on "The Education of the Negro"	550

Date. 1905.	PROGRAMME OF MEETINGS.— <i>Concluded.</i>	Attend- ance.
Feb. 13	Rev. R. S. MacArthur, D.D., New York, on "Canada, a Conservative and Progressive Force among the Nations".....	200
" 19	Hon. W. J. Hanna, Provincial Secretary, on "The Care of our Mentally Afflicted".....	175
" 26	E. C. Drury, of Crown Hill, on "The Canadian Farmer on the Tariff".....	125
Mar. 5	Hon. James H. Eckles, President Commercial National Bank of Chicago, on "Banking and Trade".....	275
" 12	Dr. Eugene Haanel, Dominion Superintendent of Mines, on "Electrical Smelting".....	260
" 20	(Evening) Byron E. Walker for The Guild of Civic Art, on "A Comprehensive Plan for Toronto"—illustrated with lime light views.....	215
" 26	William P. Archibald, Dominion Parole Officer, on "The Criminal and His Needs".....	125
Apr. 2	Prof. Stephen Leacock, of McGill, on "The Imperial Crisis".....	175
" 9	Dr. George J. Fisher, of New York, on "Relation of Physical Training to Modern Civilization".....	175
" 27	(Evening) Andrew Carnegie, on "First Words in Canada".....	700
" 30	Annual Meeting.	

Of the above list of speakers 12 are Canadians (5 of them members of this Club), 7 from the United States and only 2 this season from England.

The attendance at the regular meetings of the Club this season has been rather disappointing, a large proportion of the members evidently preferring the discomfort and overcrowding of the "extra-special" attractions. It is to be regretted, however, that there is not in this City a dining hall large enough to accommodate comfortably on special occasions at least half of the Club's membership.

I beg to move the adoption of this report.

A. E. HUESTIS,

Seconded by T. H. MASON.

Secretary.

Adopted April 30th, 1906.

241

0



F
5547
T6C33
1904/05-
1905/06

Canadian Club of Toronto
Addresses

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY
